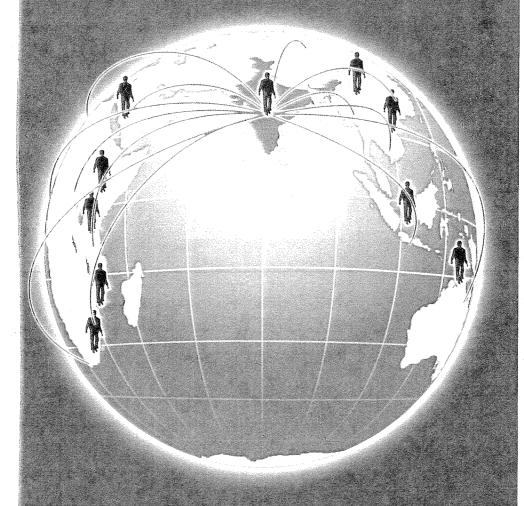
# Indian Diaspora and Giving Patterns of Indian Americans in USA

R. Gopa Kumar (Ed)



CAF

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Editor : R. Gopa Kumar

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# Contents

Acknowledgements	v
Foreword	vii
About the Authors	ix
Executive Summary	xi
Indian Diaspora and Giving Patterns of Indian Americans in USA	1
A General Note on the Telugu Diaspora in the United States	69
Transnational Networks among the Punjabi and Gujarati Diasporas in the USA	95
Indian Diaspora and Healthcare A Case of Corporate Hospitals in Hyderabad	129
Database	163

#### Acknowledgements

About three years ago Charities Aid Foundation India and Ford Foundation organized a one-day workshop on cross border giving. Few of the presentations were on the cross border giving patterns of Non Resident Indians in United States and United Kingdom. The workshop identified that United States and United Kingdom has enormous potential on giving and should map the potential in at least two major countries. Soon after this workshop, CAF India published its first monograph Diaspora Philanthropy & Non Resident Indians in the US. Subsequently I was selected as an international philanthropy fellow of Johns Hopkins University, USA that provided me an opportunity to stay in USA for almost six months during 1999-2000. In Johns Hopkins University I had worked with Professor Lester Salamon of the Centre for Civil Society Studies and I am specially grateful to him for all his guidance and help. I am specially thankful to Carol, Regina and all other team members of the Centre for all the help rendered during my stay in Baltimore. I am very thankful to other philanthropy fellows Maria, Marina and Victoria.

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R. GOPA KUMAR

January 2003.

#### Foreword

Diaspora Philanthropy, or charitable giving back to home countries by members of Asian Groups have grown exponentially over the last decade. The Indian and Chinese Diaspora have been very successful in the last decade and many of them give back in several ways, There are a number of channels by which funds are returned home for philanthropic use. Most often funds are channeled through trusted family members and kinship networks

Giving back home by groups is socially complex and highly differentiated by country of origin and type of organization. Giving through philanthropic or charitable vehicles are based in home countries or their tax exempt "friends of", organisations based in the United States. Some of the obstacles have been the reputation, integrity and transparency in indigenous philanthropies and charities.

The rate of Indian immigration accelerated rapidly again in the 1990s, fueled by the seemingly insatiable demand for high-tech workers. As a result, most of the NRI immigrants from this era are tech professionals. These immigrants are children of the new Indian middle class. Their experiences were dramatically different than those raised in the aftermath of the Independence movement. Unlike Midnight's Children, these young professionals were inspired by American idealism. During their childhood and young adulthood, India's economic reform was in full swing and was beginning to open its doors to Western culture and commercialism. Many of the new immigrants have been supporting non profits and also donating back to India.

Charities Aid Foundation India has been involved in diaspora research since early 1999. It published its first monograph supported by the Ford Foundation in June 2000. The second Monograph by my colleague Mr Gopa Kumar, who spent some time at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore researching aspects of diaspora philanthropy on the East Coast. With the support of USAID, we are bringing the second monograph which will highlight aspects of diaspora philanthropy and how non profit groups can access them successfully. This is also the mission of Charities Aid Foundation in encouraging cross border philanthropy for a better world.

Mathew Cherian
Executive Director
Charities Aid Foundation India

#### About the Authors

R. Gopakumar is Assistant Director of Research and NGO Services of Charities Aid Foundation India at New Delhi. He was International Philanthropy Fellow of Johns Hopkins University, USA in 2000. His Doctoral thesis is on 'Quality of life' (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi). He is actively involved with the Third Sector research in India. He is founder Secretary of Association for Third Sector Researchers in India (ATRI) and member of International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR) USA. He is a Pioneer in validation of NGOs and edited a book and CD on "Dimensions of Voluntary Sector in India". His main interest and publications are in the field of Diaspora, Religious and Corporate Philanthropy. He is author of several articles and participated in many international conferences on Third Sector research.

Chandrasekhar Bhat (Ph.D. Delhi) is a professor of Sociology at the University of Hyderabad. He has also taught at the University of Mysore. His interest and publications are in the field of social stratification, social movements, urban studies, sociology of development and Indian Diaspora. Professor Bhat is also the coordinator of the UGC Special Assistance Programme at the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad and the Convenor of the Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora, established under the UGC Area Studies Programme. He offers an interdisciplinary course on Indian Diaspora for the students of MA and M.Phil.

Mr. T.L.S. Bhaskar, M.Phil (Hyderabad) is a doctoral student at the University of Hyderabad pursuing his research on Telugu Diaspora. His interest and publications are on regional diasporas.

Mr. Ajaya Kumar Sahoo, M.Phil (Hyderabad) is a doctoral student at the University of Hyderabad pursuing his research on Indian Diaspora and Transnational Networks.

Mr. Sadananda Sahoo, M.Phil (Hyderabad) is a doctoral student at the University of Hyderabad pursuing his research on Indian Diaspora and Health.

#### **Executive Summary**

This book contains four articles on Indian Diaspora in United States. The article on "Indian Diaspora and Giving Patterns of Indian Americans" by R. Gopa Kumar has two parts. The first part deals with the definitions of Diaspora, major Diasporas and Diaspora movements in the world history. The chapter highlights that, Indian Diaspora is one of the major Diaspora next to Jews and Chinese and the major reason behind the Diaspora movement is famines, epidemics, conflicts or political instability. There are extensive studies on Jews and Chinese Diaspora and few studies on Indian Diaspora. Indian Diaspora movement attained momentum with the abolition of slavery in 1833. After a transition period, these slaves became free men in 1838. Since then the Indian Diaspora grew from 3.8 million at the time of Second World War to almost 28 million in 136 countries in 2001.

The first recorded arrival of an Indian in USA was an unnamed "man from Madras" who was seen in the streets of Salem in Massachusetts by Rev. William Bentley in 1790. He was a servant of John Gibaut of Salem who brought the man from Madras during his trading mission along the Indian coast. Between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Indian immigration to North America was very small. Although a small community, Indians were represented in many labour unions. Native Americans were feared of the competition of cheap Indian labour. San Francisco based Asian Exclusion League (AEL) targeted Indians for ethnic violence and many such incidences happened over a course of time in United States. The dividing line of Indian immigration to USA and resultant

Diaspora formations was in 1965. It was in this year historical Hart - Celler Act was passed which has changed the type of migration to the United States. Indian migration took a different turn with the migration of professionals to the United States when the Hart - Celler Act was passed in 1965.

In past few decades, Indian Diaspora grew remarkably. It was 387,223 in 1980 US Census, 815,447 in 1990 Census and almost 2 million in 2000 Census. Large Indian American communities exist in every state and five largest are California, Texas, New York, New Jersey and Illinois. Indian American has its strong power as is illustrated by over 1000 Indian American organizations across the country. Indian Americans have attained high degree of professionalism and are most prevalent in the fields of science and technology. Over 5000 Indian American faculty members are teaching in various Universities around the nation. Nearly 27 percent of IT professionals are Indian Americans. Many of the hotels and motels are owned by Indian Americans. 30,000 Indian American medical doctors are practicing in the United States. It is estimated that 35 percent of Boeing's technical workforce are Indians, 15 percent of the silicon valley high tech start ups are of Indian Americans and their average income is in the range of US \$200,000. Considering the achievements of Indian Americans, in various fields, Indians are now known as "Emerging Jews" in United States.

Considering the income levels and philanthropic nature of Indian Americans, in the second part of the article an attempt was made to analyse the giving patterns of Indian Americans in the United States. A primary survey of 150 Indian Americans shown that, majority of the respondents are staying for longer periods (Midnight's Children) and one third of the respondents have professional degrees and are new arrivals in the country. Academicians out number all other

occupational categories. Nearly 18 percent of the respondents made charitable donations more than five times in the past 2 years. It is also found that there is an inverse relation between duration of stay and charitable giving. Many were of the opinion that with tax benefits from IRS and online giving facility, they are willing to donate more for a public cause or for India's development.

The other two articles are on regional Diasporas from Indian states such as Telugu, Punjabi and Gujarati Diasporas in USA. These articles are focused on the history of movements of these regional Diasporas and their identity within Indian Diasporas in United States and their networks. The article on Telugu Diaspora by Bhaskar and Bhat, attempts to provide a brief outline of the Telugu Diaspora in the United States, since their initial migration during the early 1960s. Telugus have emerged as an influential and affluent ethnic minority by their visible presence in the US in terms of their occupational profile, rising income levels and contributions to the US economy. This article also recognizes the emerging networks between the Telugu Diaspora and the homeland, and among the Telugu Diaspora communities in different countries. The article on Punjabi and Gujarati Diaspora by Ajaya and Bhat examines the global dispersal and networking of Indian communities namely Punjabis, notable being Lord Swaraj Paul and Gujaratis notable being Lord Dholakia, who have the distinction of being the two widely dispersed, most mobile groups among the Indian Diaspora. The first part of the paper examines the nature and emergence of transnational networks of these two Diasporas, then discusses the socio-economic context of migration of Punjabis and Gujaratis, their settlement pattern in the host society and their transnational networks - socio-economic and cultural - with the kith and kin around the world.

The last article by Ajaya Sahoo explores the possibility of returned

Diaspora in Health care within India. The change from brain drain to qualified wealthy Indians returning back to their homeland and setting up hospitals and speciality care centres is another aspect of the Diaspora community. Ajaya explored these dimensions in his article.

The book also contains the data base of several Indian American community organizations in USA, and data base of few Indian Americans.

# Indian Diaspora and Giving Patterns of Indian Americans in USA

R. Gopa Kumar

# Indian Diaspora and Giving Patterns of Indian Americans in USA

R. Gopa Kumar

The act of migration is very important aspect of the larger phenomenon of change. Social change is much talked about today not only in the field of social sciences, but in popular magazines and other mass media. In contemporary societies rapid industrialisation, urbanisation, migration, scientific and technological advancement have all accelerated the pace of social changes and personal mobility. Migration is a phenomenon that has been taking place for millions of years and even continuing today all over the world. When individuals can no longer acquire the necessary resources to sustain themselves at their location, they migrate to places where these resources are available easily and in excess. In earlier periods people migrated from one place to another in search of food, shelter, and kinship. This trend is now being changed and people today tend to migrate in search of better career opportunities and for good quality life. According to a ILO report (Economist Nov,1, 1997) international migration has reached a magnitude of 80 million migrants and another 20 million refugees outside their countries of origin. The report further says that, every year nearly one and half million emigrate away from their motherland and another one million seek temporary asylum in the place of destination. The international migrants not only take their skills and expertise but also their culture and living styles with them. The Internet, affordable airfare, and comparatively cheap overseas communication facilities have helped to maintain strong relationship with homeland for most of the people migrated outside the country.

Three broad patterns of overseas migration in terms of history and political economy as identified by many scholars are;

- (a) Ancient and medieval emigration to colonial countries.
- (b) Emigration to the industrially developed countries during the post World War II period and
- (c) Recent emigration to developed countries for better career opportunities and better living condition.

The phenomena surrounding human migration are best captured in the term 'Diaspora. The term Diaspora is defined from the Greek 'dia' means through and 'speiro' means to scatter. Literally meaning scattering or dispersion. It was originally used to refer to the dispersion of Jews after Babylonian exile in 586 BC and to the aggregate of Jews or Jewish communities scattered in exile outside Palestine. In current parlance the term is applied to describe any group of people who are dispersed. (N. Jayaram 1998). The term Diaspora may be defined as the migration of a population or a section of it along with their ways of life to the place of destination.

There is no ambiguity about the term Diaspora, when it is used in relation to the Jewish people. But once it is applied to other religious or ethnic groups, it becomes immediately apparent how difficult it is in many cases to find a definition that makes a clear distinction between a migration and a Diaspora, or between a minority and a Diaspora. Thus the term Diaspora is not used when discussing the presence of descendants of British people in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Canada and the United States. Nor is the term applied to the many German colonies established in central and eastern Europe or in several Latin American countries. These latter colonies may often have migrated

several generations ago, but, in both Chile and Argentina, for instance, they continue to retain their identity – a key feature of Diasporas. The geographer Pierre George has used the judicious expression "minorities of superiority" to refer to them meaning minorities that wish to perpetuate their identity, which they see culturally superior. (Chali 1995)

Conversely, and making matters even more complex, there is a widespread tendency to apply the term Diaspora to the Chinese and Indian communities scattered across half of the nineteenth century, in southeast Asia, the West Indies, eastern and southern Africa, and the United States. These groups ought indeed to be classified as Diasporas (or perhaps semi Diasporas, given the continued existence of a state where the vast majority of their compatriots live), in so far as they meet many of the criteria that define the Diaspora condition.

The dispersion of the Chinese and Indian communities, comparable in sheer numbers, who set out at the same time and for similar reasons is far more extensive geographically, covering as it does all five continents. More than ten million Chinese and Indians left regions ravaged by famines, epidemics, and conflicts, thereby constituting major part of the Diasporas.

Diaspora is also defined by the role played by collective memory, which transmits both the historical facts that precipitated the dispersion and a cultural heritage - latter often being religious. This collective memory is especially vivid among people who have suffered a disaster: the genocide of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (about half the Armenian population was wiped out in 1915 – 1916), ancient exiles of the Jews and their genocide during the Second World War, the Palestinians dispossessed of their land by the Arab Israeli war. The Gypsies, an oral society, may not have transcribed

their memories of Nazi genocide, but to believe that, such an occurrence had been forgotten because it has not been written down would be to underestimate the capacity for a continuing oral transmission.

Like other historical formations, Diasporas forms and disappears. This was the case with the Greeks. In Rome during the Hellenistic period the Greeks experienced both an intellectual and a trading dispersion. After the fall of Constantinople, another dispersion notable in Italy occurred. Finally Greek colonies survived until quite recently in Asia Minor: those in the Aegean expelled and exchanged for Muslims in 1922, when the Turkish republic was found. Another part of this very ancient Diaspora ceased to exist in Alexandria. Jews, Americans and Greeks have formed long lasting Diasporas, a specific feature of which was that they were trading and hence urban ones. The known Diasporas are Americans, gypsies, Blacks, Chinese, Indians, Irish, Greek, Palestinians, Vietnamese and Koreans. It is interesting to observe that diaspora communities have created several states over the last two centuries. Haiti, Liberia, Israel, Singapore, and Cape Verde. Various other small states, often islands are essentially made up of dispersed communities, Trinidad, Surinam, Guiana, Mauritius etc are few examples in this category.(Chali 1995)

Until late sixties, there were extensive studies on Jewish, American, Greece and Chinese Diaspora of which the ideal case was of Jews. For the last few decades, many dispersed communities those once known as minorities, ethnic groups, migrates, exiles, have now been renamed as 'Diasporas' either by intellectual and political leaders or by scholars and academicians (www. wesleyan.edu). Though this led to more studies on Diaspora, there are few studies on Indian Diaspora and much needs to be covered to understand

the dispersion of people of Indian origin across the globe, since they constitute a major portion of Diaspora.

The classical definition of Diaspora described by Razmik Panossian as the "forced dispersion of a clearly identified group of people from their homeland with a distinct collective minority and a myth of return. The group maintains its collective identity by establishing and controlling boundaries around it while maintaining communication with other similar communities with the homeland". It is also defined as a segment of people living outside the homeland. (Panossian 1998 in Sahoo 2001). While observing these two definitions Gabriel Sheffer defined Diaspora as "..ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries, but maintaining strong social, economic, political and emotional ties with their countries of origin- their homeland..." (Safran 1999). A community to be labelled under the definition of Diaspora, it should represent certain features, which shares among the individuals in that community. According to Robin Cohen (cited in Safran. 1999 in Sahoo 2001) neither 'minority status' nor mere 'physical dispersion' is the ispo facto for labelling a community as Diaspora. Rather there has to be more, such as acute memory, image or contact with the homeland. For him "... the individuals who have been dispersed to various lands whether voluntarily or not, one finds a continuum of attitudes and form a vague expressive identification with the homeland and single-minded involvement with its affairs" can be included in the category of Diaspora. Further he also identified certain conditions:

- a) Vague family tradition of origin, eclipsed by full social, cultural and political integration into the host nation.
- b) An acute awareness of origins going no further than a sympathetic curiosity about them.

- c) A personal identity significantly affected by that awareness.
- d) An active interest in the general fate and in important specific events of the homeland.
- e) The perpetuation of significant aspects of the culture (e.g. language, tradition etc) of the homeland.
- f) Regular communication with kin in the homeland, include the sending of remittances to the homeland.
- g) Influencing a host land government to pursue policies favourable to the homeland.
- h) Voting in homeland election.
- i) Going off to fight for the homeland preparing to return to the homeland.

Persons fulfilling few of these conditions can be considered as Diaspora.

#### Indian Diaspora: A Historical Perspective

Indian emigration had its origin in the Indus Valley civilisation, whose merchants frequently visited other lands. Emigration to African Countries dates back to Second Century AD. Indians then maintained a commuter existence leaving wives and families behind and visiting home periodically. Those who remained in Africa were called 'passenger Indians' because they were considered sojourners and not permanent settlers. (Tinker, Hugh, 1977).

The nineteenth century brought a radical change to the character of emigration. The Indian Diaspora had its strong foundation during its period. The small-scale emigration became a mass movement to provide cheap labour to British and other European colonies. Conditions of absolute poverty in many parts of India or the prospect of gaining wealth overseas motivated people to sell themselves and become bonded labour.

Modern Indian emigration started with the abolition of slavery in 1833 in British Empire. After a transition period, these slaves became free men in 1838. Indian emigration, which involved with all religions, has been present in India since 16th century. Between 1834 and 1837, ten thousand people emigrated from Calcutta to Mauritius (Chali 1995). Many went to British Guiana, Jamaica, and Natal in South Africa. In 1834, slavery was abolished in French colonies and the reunion of families brought in many labours from Pondicherry. Conditions of this journey were extremely difficult and the mortality was high on both British and French boats. Within a few decades, there was significant Indian presence in Natal, South Africa, Surinam, Trinidad, Mauritius, and Fiji.

The indenture system, which was the name given to the type of contract used in the emigration was based on hiring for work for a given period, usually three to five years, in exchange for the price of the passage and a wage. On the expiration of the contract, either they seek work in the host country or return home at own expenses. This system instituted by the British authorities to prevent abuse was nullified by employer's determination to make people sign contracts for the longest period at the lowest wages. The emigrants were almost all males. The indenture system lasted until after the First World War. Around 1900, Indian emigrant in very small numbers began to arrive in North America, usually across the Pacific, to San Francisco and Vancouver. Canada received 7000 Indian migrants between 1900 and 1910. Most immigrants came from Punjab. Many of them had been civil servants in the British Empire, the Sikhs; many of them had been in the police went to North

America via Singapore and Hong Kong. In United States, the Indians like the Chinese and Japanese worked in railway buildings, in sawmills and as farm workers. In 1907, there were a thousand Indians in the United States. Immigration became significant only in the 1970s. By 1990, there were 680,000 Indians in the United States. The numbers grown exponentialy and now Indians are seen everywhere in the world.

In the last three decades, there have been major instances when Indian communities have been at the receiving end of violence or mass discrimination. In the early nineteen seventies, Ugandan dictator Idi Amin threw out thousands of Indians from his country. Countless families lost everything they had and migrated to Britain, North America and else where. A decade and half later, in 1987, a military general staged a coup in the tiny Pacific island of Fiji to allegedly safeguard the interest of native Fijians from the economically powerful Indians and changed the constitution to prevent them from occupying senior political positions. As a result of this, eighty thousand Indians migrated from Fiji. More recently, the democratically elected government headed by ethnic Indian Mahendra Chaudhury was thrown out of power by a coup led by a business man George Speight. Much lesser known than these high profile episodes were the anti Indian riots in Bambayi slums on the outskirts in Durban in South Africa in 1983. Though the position of Indian is relatively better in terms of socio economic, cultural and political aspects, still they are victims of racism and discrimination in many parts of the world.

Table 1 shows that at the time of Second World War there were approximatly 3.8 million Indian Diaspora and out of this 1.1 million Indians were in Burma and it was as low as 1000 Indians in Western Europe. At that time there were only 6000 Indians in United States.

Table I

Estimate of the Indian Diaspora on the eve of Second World

War in Selected Countries

Countries	Estimated Indian Diaspora
Burma	1,100,000*
Malaya	750,000
Ceylon	800,000
Mauritius	300,000
South Africa	200,000
Kenya	50,000
Fiji	90,000
Uganda	20,000
Tanganyika	30,000
Zanzibar	8,000
Great Britain	20,000
Indonesia	35,000
Western Europe	1,000
United States	6,000
British Guiana	150,000
Jamaica	20,000
Surinam	40,000
Trinidad	110,000
In the Pacific	85,000
Total	38,15,000

Source: The Penguin Atlas of Diaspora. P-152 (Chali 1995)

 $<sup>^{\</sup>ast}$  most of the Indians in Burma were expelled in the 1960s.

# Present Situation and Number Of Indian Diaspora

The Indian Diaspora, mostly by the second generation engaged in business, is made up of various ethnic groups, (Punjabis, Gujaratis, Bengalis Etc) and religious ones (Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs etc) who all belonged to the British Indian Empire. Major changes have occurred in recent decades. Local Nationalisms have eliminated the Indian trading minorities in Myanmar and east Africa, especially in Uganda. Conversely, in Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji, and the West Indies the Indian Communities have put down roots and developed to a greater extent.

Diaspora today constitutes an important, and in some respects unique, force in world culture. The origin of the modern Indian Diaspora lies mainly in the subjugation of India by the British and its incorporation into the British Empire. Indians were taken over as indentured labor to far-flung parts of the empire in the nineteenth-century, a circumstance to which the modern Indian populations of Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and other places attest in their own peculiar ways. Over two million Indian men fought on behalf of the empire in numerous wars, including the Boer War and the two World Wars, and some remained behind to claim the land on which they had fought as their own. As if, in emulation of their ancestors, many Gujarati traders once again left for East Africa in large numbers in the early part of the twentieth century. Finally, in the post-World War II period, the dispersal of Indian labor and professionals has been a nearly worldwide phenomenon. Indians, and other South Asians, provided the labor that helped in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe, particularly the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and in more recent years unskilled labor from

South Asia has been the main force in the transformation of the physical landscape of much of the Middle East. Meanwhile, in many countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, Indians have made their presence visibly felt in various professions. (Helweg 1986).

Who and what is an Indian Diaspora? How can we characterize Indian Diaspora community as Indian given that it is constituted of such diverse elements as South Asian Hong Kong Muslims, Canadian Sikhs, Gujarati East Africans, South African Hindus etc. In the United States, at least, the Indian community has occupied a place of considerable privilege, and many Indians could deflect the moment of recognition that *Indianness* and being 'American' do not always happily coincide. In recent years, with a declining economy on the one hand, and the congregation of Indians in clusters that visibly put them apart on the other hand, Indians have for the first time become the targets of racial attacks. In North America and the U.K., the native Indian costume has come up for public scrutiny and discussion in an altogether different respect. Sikhs have insisted that they be exempt from the law that compels bicyclists and motorcyclists to wear helmets, for such helmets cannot be worn over turbans, and their religious faith requires Sikhs to wear turbans. The kirpan has been an issue of contention in California schools. The 'corner shop', a hallowed symbol (if we could recall our Dickens) of English life, is now mainly in the hands of Indians. The obvious question is not only, 'What do the English think of that', but also: 'If the English landscape has been so altered, what is English about England'? (Vinaylal, Manas Website)

Irrespective of heterogeneous culture, Indian communities across the world maintain some sort of tenuous link with the motherland. The Indian 'arranged marriage' might furnish such facet of a 'common culture'. Newspapers published by Indian communities flourish everywhere, and they invariably carry a section with matrimonial ads. Though these very ads help Indians to 'locate' one another, they pose difficult questions about 'otherness', both the otherness' of Indians in relation to 'Americans', and the internal 'otherness' of certain Indians in relation to other Indians. The religious practices of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims in the U.S. and other overseas communities might be assisting in transforming the nature of religious faiths in India itself. Hindus all over the world is showing alarming signs of susceptibility to a resurgent and militant Hinduism. In thinking of the Indian Diaspora, other questions that come to the forefront include: relations between parents and children, race relations between Indians, blacks, and whites, the place of Indian food and music in the preservation of Indian communities, the responsibility, if any, of the Indian Government to overseas Indians, and the future prospects of the Indian community especially in the U.S.

Table 2

Estimated Size of Indian Diaspora in December 2001

Countries	Indian Diaspora
Afghanistan	500
Algeria	45
Andorra	200
Angola	295
Argentina	1600
Armenia	200
Australia	190,000
Austria	11,945

Countries	Indian Diaspora
Azerbaijan	250
Bahrain	130,000
Barbados	2,200
Belarus	70
Belgium	7,000
Belize	500
Benin	450
Bhutan	1,500
Botswana	9,000
Brazil	1,900
Brunei	7,600
Bulgaria	20
Burundi	300
Cambodia	300
Cameroon	250
Canada	851,000
Cape Verde	4
Chad	125
Chile	650
China	305
Colombia	20
Comoros	50
Costa Rica	16
Cote d'Ivore	300
Croatia	10
Cyprus	300
Czech Republic	420
Denmark	2,152
Djibouti	280

	<u> </u>
Countries	Indian Diaspora
Dominica	20
Ecuador	5
Egypt	1,390
Eritrea	1,753
Ethiopia	734
Fiji	336,829
Finland	1,170
France	65,000
G.Bissau	25
Gambia	135
Germany	35,000
Ghana	3,800
Greece	7,000
Guade;oupe	40,000
Guatemala	22
Guyana	395,350
Hong Kong	50,000
Indonesia	55,000
Iran	800
Iraq	110
Ireland	1,600
Israel	45,300
Italy	71,500
Jamaica	61,500
Japan	10,000
Jordan	930
Kazakhstan	1,127
Kenya	102,500
Korea (DPRK)	5

Countries	Indian Diaspora
Korea (ROK)	2,700
Kuwait	295,000
Kyrgyzstan	100
Laos	125
Lebanon	11,025
Libya	12,400
Lithuana	5
Madagaskar	29,000
Malaysia	1,665,000
Maldives	9,001
Mali	20
Mauritius	715,756
Mexico	400
Mongolia	35
Morocco	375
Mozambique	20,870
Myanmar	2,902,000
Namibia	110
Netherlands	217,000
New Zealand	55,000
Nigeria	25,000
Norway	5,630
Oman	312,000
P.N.Guinea	1,000
Panama	2,164
Peru	145
Philippines	38,000
Poland	825
Portugal	70,000

Countries	Indian Diaspora
Qatar	131,000
Reunion Islands	220,055
Romania	491
Russia	16,044
Saudi Arabia	1,500,000
Senegal	21
Seychelles	5,000
Singapore	307,000
Slovakia	100
Solomon Islands	20
South Africa	1,000,000
Spain	29,000
St. Lucia	200
St. Vincent & The Grenadines	160
Sudan	1,500
Suriname	150,456
Sweden	11,000
Switzerland	13,500
Syria	1,800
Taiwan	1,800
Tajikistan	400
Tanzania	90,000
Thailand	85,000
Trinidad & Tobago	500,600
Tunisia	70
Turkey	300
UAE	950,000
Uganda	12,000
UK	1,200,000

Countries	Indian Diaspora
Ukraine	3,400
USA	1,678,765
Uzbekistan	690
Vanuatu	50
Venezuela	690
Vietnam	320
Yemen	100,900
Zambia	13,000
Zimbabwe	16,700

Source: Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora, Government of India

The High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora set up by Government of India estimated over 20 million Indian Diaspora in 136 countries. There are more than one million population in malayasia (1.6 million), Myanmar (2.9 million), Saudi Arabia (1.5 million), South Africa (1.0 million), UK (1.2 million) and USA (1.7 million).

Indians in Trinidal and Tobago now form 42 percent of the population and control the economy. In Suriname Indians form 35 percent of the total population and it is as high as 70 percent in Mauritius.

### Indian Diaspora in USA

Indian Diaspora in USA is a culmination of different phases of Indian migration to the States including the twice migrants. Though a major portion of the present day Indian Diaspora is a result of the post 1960s, it has its roots way back in the later part of the eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century. The present day Indian Diaspora in the United States consists of the following: the descendents of the migrants in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the descendents of the migrants in the post 1965 era, the twice migrants and all the Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) staying in the United States. The dividing line of Indian imigration to USA and the resultant Diaspora formation is 1965. It was in this year, historical Hart - Celler Act was passed which has changed the type of migration to the United States. Indian migration took a different turn with the migration of professionals to the United States when the Hart – Celler Act was passed in 1965. Today Indians are the 4th largest immigrant community in United States. Mexico is number one, followed by China and Philippines (Motwani 2003)

The early Asian Indian immigration to United States can be analysed in various phases such as before 1820, 1829 – 1913, 1914 – 39, During Second World War, (1946), 1947-65, 1965-90 and the latest figures of Census 1980, 1990 and 2000. (Pradhan 1996)

Before 1820: Few Asian Indians came to the US before 1906. According to the prevailing Hindu socio – religious traditions, crossing of "black water" to the west was extremely inauspicious. It was therefore not surprising that almost all early arrivals from India

to America had Christian names. The first recorded arrival was an unnamed "man from Madras" who was seen in the streets of Salem, Massachusetts by Rev. William Bentley in 1790. He was a servant to John Gibaut of Salem, who brought the man from Madras during his trading mission along the Indian coastal line, he probably returned to India in May, 1791. During the next decade, as trade of Salem with India developed, Asian Indians sometimes came with the sea captains and worked on the Indian wharves of Crownshield or Derby. The line between slavery and indenture was difficult to maintain for dark skinned Indians, particularly in areas where dark skinned was presumed to lack in civil rights.

Between 1820 – 1913: Between the neneteenth and early twentieth centuries, Asian Indian immigration to North America was very small. Over a period of almost 80 years from 1820 (when first the US immigration data were collected by the country of origin) to 1898, there were only 523 Indian immigrants, with an average of only 8 peryear, there beign 1 per year for 13 scattered years and none during 15 scattered years. The immigrants mainly comprised of unskilled agriculturists and labourers, mostly from the state of the Punjab.

In 1851, during the Fourth of July parade in Salem, half a dozen Asian Indians marched in the East India Marine society contingent. Some of them stayed in Salem, but left no history behind. They were said by the New England chronicles to have married Negro women and become part of the black population of salem.

After the civil war, American consuls in India had been advising Indian merchants and others not to migrate to the US. A group of Parsee merchants wishing to migrate to the West was told by the Consul in Bombay that the US would not be a good place for them.

In the 1880s, three Mormon missionaries were discouraged by the Consul at Calcutta to take the converts to Utah. 'Indians are of no value in the American West', he told the missionaries. Despite such discouragement, a few Indian merchants came to the US. In 1889, during his visit to Philadelhia, Rudyard Kipling met three Parsee merchants to whom he spoke in their native language. By the turn of the century, there were about 500 Indian traders in the US staying in New York, Missouri and some southern cities.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, several relisious leaders made short visits to the US. The earliest one was probably Pratap.C.Mazumdar of the Brahmo Samaj, who visited the US four times, in 1874, 1883, 1893(during the World Congress of Religions) and 1900. Swami Vivekananda also came to the World Congress in 1893 and electrified his audience with his message. He visited the US for the second time in 1899. During his two visits, he laid the foundation for the Vedanta Centres in America.

From the very beginning of the twentieth century, a small number of intellectuals, mostly students, also came to the Us and would later provide leadership to the community. The first group of Indian students arrived on the Pacific Coast sometime in the winter of 1901 – 1902. In 1906, the student community in the whole of the US was less than 100. The Indians were then called "Hindus" (to differentiate from the American Indians) irrespective of their religion. This name remained stuck well up to the 1930s. form 1899 until the beginning of World War I, a total of 6,656 East Indians entered the US, 2,844 were debarred from entry and 98 were deported.

These immigrants to the US and Canada were mostly unskilled agricultural labourers, came in majority from the rural districts of

Punjab and to a lesser extent from Bengal, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. The immigrants were attracted by the propaganda of agents of the Canadian employers including the railroad and steamship companies as well as previous contacts with the overseas British officers. This led to a sharp increase in the Indian immigration to Canada; from 45 arrivals in 1905 and 387 in 1906, they increased to 2,214 in 1907 and 2,623 in 1908. This increase cause public pressure, in response to which the Canadian government in 1909 stopped the Indian immigration through various means. These means include: (i) utilisation of "continuous voyage" provision, barring immigrants who failed to travel in a single, direct voyage from their native country, (ii) a reprimand of the steamship companies for their misleading propaganda; (iii) an increase in the amount of money (to \$200) required for the immigrants to stay in Canada. As a challenge, Sikhs chartered a Japanese ship, the Komagata Maru, that sailed directly from India to Vancouver in 1914. To the distress of all, they were not permitted to disembark and forced to return after two months in port. Such Canadian exclusion policy pushed the Indian immigrants towards the US.

The Indian immigrants who came earlier to the US were unskilled labourers and so, also, were the newer ones. The latter came directly to the US or migrated through Canada either after brief stays in British Columbai or after denial of entry at Vancouver. In 1907, their numbers was relatively higher (1072) and more than the total number (885) of the Indian arrivals between 1899 and 1906. In 1908, there were an additional 1701 immigrants form India. There were the years of famine and agricultural discontent in the Punjab as well as political untest resulting in deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. However, in the early 20th century, the Indian community, even with their slight growth, never approached

the size of the Chinese of Japanese community, and after 1920, they were outnumbered by the Filipinos.

Although a small community both numerically and politically, the "Hindus" were resented by the labour union and white protectionists who feared the competition of cheap Indian labour. By 1907, there was an association organised to oppose the Asian immigration. Earlier called the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, it was soon renamed as the Asian Exclusion League (AEL) to include Indians among its targets. This San Francisco based AEL began to turn against the Indian immigration, when the number of immigrants increased in 1907, and began to play a major role during the next decade in fomenting anti – Indian passion.

Some of the ugliest incidents occurred in 1907. On September 9, several hundred whites raided and demolished the living quarters of the Hindu workers in Bellingham, a small town in Washington state; they were paraded out of the town and many were injured. In early November, about 500 workers in Everett rounded up the "Hindus" and drove them out of the city. Following these events, although some Indian remained in Washington, many moved south to California, because of the racial pressure as well as the attractive climate of the south.

In 1910, demand for labourers for the construction of the Western pacific Railroad led to a relaxation of the immigration regulations, resulting in the admission of 1,782 Indian immigrants, mostly at San Francisco. According to the 1910 census, a total of 5,424 East Indians resided in the US, with about half (2,742) in California. Propaganda of the AEL exaggerated the "Hindu" immigration data. In 1910, the AEL also directed its anti Indian campaign against the San Francisco Commissioner of Immigration,

Hart .H. North for his apparent leniency in admitting the Hindus in this country.

By 1911, the anti-Indian campaign had been effectively won. North resigned under pressure and in disgust. Rigid enforcement of immigration regulations followed. In 1911, only 517 East Indians were admitted and 861 were debarred. The similar trend continued during the next decade. Between 1911 and 1920, 2,082 Indians were admitted, while 1,782 were denied entry mostly on the grounds of "Probably becoming public charges". During this time, approximately, 1,400 Indians voluntarily left the US, while an additional 235 were deported.

A few thousand Indians who settled in California, relied chiefly on agriculture as a means of livelihood. Many Indians worked as farm labourers, others became farm operators, leasing ranches on share or cash basis for periods of one to three years. By 1920, Indians were operating 85,000 acres of vineyards and fruit orchards in each of Joaquin and Sacramento valleys and about 3,000 acres of cotton and rice fields in the Imperial Valley.

Between 1914 and 1939: Despite the insignificant level of the East Indian population, Democratic Representative, Denver. S. Church of Fresno, California, supported by Senetor Smith (South Carolina) campaigned against the East Indian immigration. He introduced a bill to exclude "Hindu" labourers in 1914 and continued again in 1915, 1916 and 1917. In February 1917, an Immigration Law with a "barred zone" was passed over President Woodrow Wilson's veto. Congress ignored petitions from American intellectuals and missionaries. The law which was intended to restrict immigration from Southern and eastern Europe, also provided a "barred zone" prohibiting labourers form nearly all of Asia, including India, from entering the US.

Under pressure, many East Indians left the US. Between 1920 and 1940 some three thousands of them returned to India, most of them voluntarily and a few hundred under deportation. By 1930, the "Hindu" population dropped to 3,130 and in 1940 to 2,405, sixty percent of them living in California. During the same period, at least 3,000 Indians entered the US illegally. They were mostly farm labourers who came via Mexico. Some of them were deported and others remained here to be absorbed into the existing East Indian Community.

The small Indian community remained depressed over the years. By 1940, nearly half of the Indians were farm labourers, fifteen per cent were farmers or farm managers, another twenty five percent were non – farm labourers and only about six per cents were professions. Of the 1,600 Indians above age twenty five, more than a third had not completed even a year of schooling and the median school year completed was 3.7. Being small in number and living in isolation, they could not develop a strong cultural identity. Religion was the strong unifying force. They visited temples and mosques on holy days. The Sikh temple at Stockton served as the principal centre of religious and social contacts.

Second World War(1946): During World War II, the India League of America led by enterprising Sardar J.J. Singh and other Indian businessmen and intellectuals living in the Eastern US, intensified the political activity in order to enlist American support for Indian independence. The objective was to attract and enlist the support of the American liberals, including those who backed the India Home Rule League during World War I as well as many labour groups and politicians. Writings, speeches and other works of Anup Singh, Krishnalal Shridharani, Taraknath Das, B. Shiva Rao, Syed Hossain, Haridas. T. Mazumdarand others also helped to gain the support

and sympathy of the American public for the Indian cause.

During World War II, considerable sympathy, predominantly from the American liberals, for granting the East Indians an immigration quota and naturalisation privileges, was generated by the campaigns during the war by the India League of Americ ked by Sardar J.J. Singh as well as the *Indian Welfare League* led by Mubarak Ali Khan and the American Voice of the *All India Muslim League*.

In February, 1944, the New York Times in its editorial argued for a quota and naturalisation privileges for India. A number of bills to naturalise Indians were submitted during 1944 – 45, but none made it out of the Committees. After October, 1943, when the Congress lifted both immigration and naturalisation barriers for the Chinese, the India League demanded similar rights for the Indians.

The problems caused by the disagreement between the India League and the India Welfare League were solved. These led to passing of a bill through the Ocngress which President Harry.S. Truman signed on July3, 1946. The bill approved the Indian immigration "which would assist United States's interest in Asia". It gave the natives of India an annual quota of one hundred, thus ending nearly 30 years of virtual exclusion and made the East Indians eligible for American citizenship thus reversing the Thind decision of 23 years earlier.

Between 1947 to '65: Liberalisation of the Indian immigration policy facilitated an increase in population of the East Indian community and changed its character. The post World War II immigrants were mostly professional men and their families. Between 1947 and 65, nearly 6000 Indians entered the US. Some immigrants returned to India; their number equalled to the new immigrants

during the first few years after independence, but decreased inearly 1950s. The number of India-born immigrants entering through other countries also increased. Moreover, during this period, the non - quota immigrants, mostly comprising spouse and children of the American citizens generally equalled or surpassed the regular quotas of the immigrants. They also took American citizenship in increasing numbers. The number of naturalised East Indians, though only 26 in 1948, totalled 1772 between 1948 and 1965. The rural East Indians, mostly Sikhs, as shown by a survey in the Sutter Country area of North Central California, remained a strong and unified community. Economically, they were strengthened. Virtual absence of anti – Orientalism, and their hard – working and thrifty nature increased their agricultural holdings and made them more prosperous than thirty years ago.

The East Indians as a group never developed much political power. However, one immigrant, Dalip Singh Saund, who migrated from Punjab in 1919 to study at the University of California, became a prosperous farmer in the Imperial Valley, and later was politically active during the 1920s and 1930s. Naturalised in 1949, he joined the Democratic Party, was elelcted a County judge in 1949, and later in 1956 to the US House of Representatives, where Congressman Saund served three terms.

Between 1965 and 1990: In the 1965, the US Congress passed the most liberal immigration law to-date known as the Immigration Act of 1965. This law which became fully effective in 1968, abolished discrimination based on national origin including the Asiatic exclusion and allowed aliens to be admitted from all countries as immigrants using three criteria: (i) their possession of occupational skills needed in the US labour market(occupational migrants); (ii) family reunification; (iii) their vulnerability to political and religious

persecution. An immigration quota of 20,000 was set for each country.

India became one of the major beneficiaries of this Immigration Act. In 1965, 582 immigrants came f rom India. Their number gradually increased in the early 1970s. Since 1976, it has levelled off to average 20,000 per year. In the early 1970s, about 70,000 Indian refugees from the business and professional classes, expelled by Idi Amin regime in Uganda were admitted to the US under a special clause. More overseas Indians also immigrated from other countries, particularly the Carribbean Islands and the British Commonwealth.

Post – 1965 Indian immigrants, although generally from large cities from all parts of India, mostly originated from the three states – Gujarat, Punjab and Kerala. The majority were Hindus, although there were also other religious groups. Most of them spoke English fluently. The order of their major distribution (first, second and third) in various states changed with time: in1974, New York, Illinois, California; in 1979, California, New York Illinois; during 1986-'92, California, New York, New Jersey.

The immigrants were highly educated and had a middle or upper middle class professional background prior to their immigration. Among those admitted before 1979, 71Percent completed 4 years of college and 45Percent compelted master's programme. Two factors contributed to the high educational and occupational levels of the Indian immigrants in the 1970s. First, a large number of physicians, pharmacists, nurses and other medical professionals were permitted to immigrate to the US at that time. Second, many students studying here at that time completed their master and Ph. D. programmes and adjusted their status to immigrants.

An overall brief account of the context under which Indian immigration to the United States during these period is essential to analyse this early phase. In 1838 the institutional practice of slavery was banned. This ban created a vaccum in the work force in lumberyards and plantations in the British colonies and North – western America. Around these years the white American workers began to demand more wages and better working conditions, putting pressure on the management of the plantations and mines. It resulted in a situation where in the management sought cheap labour from European colonies in Asia and Africa.

Around these years the British had already established a kind of mercantile capitalism in India in the form of colonisation. The colonial land tenure pattern gave rise to the decline of the cottage industries and pauperisation of the peasantry. Frequent famines further contributed to poverty, unemployment and availability of a large work force in India. In fact, British India became an appendage to the colonialist economy. The need for cheap labour in the United States and the availability of a large workforce in India in the late nineteenth century formed the context under which the early phase of labour migration took place to the New World. The United States labour agents looking for work force in the British Indian found the Indian work force suitable for the hard work on the lumberyards and for laying railroads in the North – Western part of the United States.

Migration of the Indian workforce to North America during the 1880s and 1890s was mainly from Punjab by the Sikhs were very distinctive in appearance, wither as the prospective labour on the lumberyards or as the police to the British colony of Canada. There were also migrants from Gujarat, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Travelling via Hong Kong most of them reached the West Coast of North America and finally settled down around British Columbia and California.

Initially most of them were engaged for work on the North Pacific railways, the lumberyards and some of them, mostly Sikhs as the farm labour in the Imperial, San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. The Sikhs, who had already the experience in the farming found it easy to adapt to the existing working conditions. They began to work hard and started saving enough. Kitano and Daniels(1988 – 91) opine that the migrant's goal was to save and send back or to purchase land. They refer to a study of Mills on East Indians, who found that earning two thousand dollars was the goal of many. They were joined by many other Sikhs working on the British regiments, who migrated from the United Kingdom after attending the Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897.

Immigrants form British India were called East Indians to distinguish them from Amerindians. It would be interesting to note that the US immigration Commission's Dictionary of Races or People defined East Indiana as any native of the East Indies. The definition-included people ranging from the inhabitants of Philippines to the Aryans of India, and that the East Indian immigrant, regardless of their home, culture or religion, were called the Hindus or the *Hindoos*.

The east Indians were the most preferred labour as they were ready to work for long hours and for lesser pay than the native workforce was. This made the local work force to turn hostile towards the East Indians, and the hostility was later translated into socio political and economic discrimination against the East Indians.

The period between 1901 and 1920, clearly shows that the east Indian migration to the United States was on increase to 1910, but then gradually slowed down when the formalities to enact the laws of Exclusion and Restriction began around 1911, to stop the migratory trends fro Asia.

The anti East Indian lobby achieved considerable success in blocking East Indians entry into the US by the early 1920s, through the enactment of following legislation:

- a. Immigration and Regional Restriction Act, 1917, where in the British India was kept under the Barred zone. The Act is also known as the Barred Zone Act.
- b. The East Indians were made ineligible for the Naturalisation in 1923 with the opinion delivered by Justice George Sutherland, though they were given citizenship rights in 1920, under the category of 'Caucasians'.
- c. The Asian Exclusion Act of 1924.

The impact of the acts on the East Indian were restrictive. Emigration of the east Indians from the British Indian was restricted. Naturalisation rights were denied to the East Indians already living in USA. They were also denied land ownership rights. Discrimination against East Indian immigrants and emigration from India, which was enforced from 1898, continued almost till early 1940s. The immigration policy turned to be against the entrance of the Asians and the bureaucracy was ordered to strictly implement the laws made with an idea of restrictionism.

Indian Diaspora reflected in US Census: The U.S. Census bureau defines Indian - Americans as "Asian Indians." When households fill out the census they define themselves as Asian Indians, a subcategory of the Asian or Pacific Islander group People who choose to write in more specific categories, such as Gujarati or Sikh, are still

classified as Asian Indians. People are classified as Asian Indians if they are of Asian Indian origin or if they are of Asian Indian race, or if they are foreign born people from India.

1980 Census Profile: An Asian Indian profile can be drawn from the 1980 U S Census Report. In 1980, the total Asian Indians were 387,223 that was 95Percent of total South Asian immigrants; of these, the native born were 270,268. Their education levels were high; 94Percent of the males and 88Percent of the females completed high schools (higher than those of the whites and all Asians except Japanese). Approximately, 67Percent of males and 50Percent of females were college graduates, being much higher thatn those of whites (21Percent and 15Percent respectively). A remarkably high percent (57Percent) of Asian Indian males had professional and executive ranks, much higher than other Asian males. Asian Indian females had a more modest degree (34Percent) of high occupational ranks, also much higher than other Asian females.

In respect to the specific occupational specialities, more than 25Percent of male professionals ere physicians and 42Percent were engineers, architects or surveyors. Asian Indian females were concentrated in the "health diagnosis" occupations (62Percent). These percentages are comparatively much higher than those of the white males and females. Asian Indians were also relatively well represented in the teaching profession (males generally at post secondary levels) and administrative support occupations (females). Average personal incomes of Asian Indian males and females were \$20,643 and \$9,685 respectively; their individual income levels were the highest among the Asian Americans and whites, being 17Percent higher than the level of whites and 9Percent above the Japanese.

1990 Census: According to the 1990 census report, there were 815,447 Asian Indians in the US. The Indian population showed

remarkable growth, doubling in 1980 and increasing 10 times between 1970 and 1990. There were 30,667 immigrants from India in 1990. In 1990 Census, 30 Percent of the Indian workers were in the professional occupation, compared to only 14Percent of the white workers. A large population of Indians are in the health profession. Indians represent the largest foreign health professional group in the US. A large number of engineers and scientists also hold academic positions. Many Indians are self employed and engaged in the consulting practice in various fields, such as medicine, law, engineering, accounting and business. In the last two decades, a large number of Indians (and Pakistanis) have found career opportunities as taxi drivers and owners in nation's large Metropolitan centres, such as New York City. Indian - owned businesses are also concentrated in a few service and retail traders. Gujaratis are over represented in small business. A Gujarati sub-culture group called Patels has been publicised by the media and labelled as "Potels, Hotels and Motels". News stand service, gas station and car repairs are among other Indian businesses. Indian Americans as a group earn substantially higher family incomes (\$49,309) than white Americans (\$37,152) and are second only to Japanese Americans (\$51,550) among the Asian Americans. However, like other Asians, Indian Americans do not get equal rewards for their educational investments. One study shows that Indian Americans were "paid well, but less than their education and occupational concentration would produce, if they were not a minority in the United States".

The United States Census Bureau estimates that the national Census count of 1990 differed from the true population by less than two percent, which means that their statistics about the size of the Indian American population are quite accurate. Using this margin of error, the Indian American community in 1990 would, at its highest count be approximately 831,755 people. This means that

perhaps, with the highest estimates, around 15,000 Indian - Americans were left out of the census. In estimating this undercount, the Census Bureau uses birth and death records, immigration records and previous censuses to estimate the true population. It also conducts special surveys by taking scientific samples of census blocks and reinterviewing them independently of the census enumeration to determine accuracy. It is, however, difficult to accurately estimate the undercount of Indian - Americans because adequate records on this segment of the population have not existed for a long period of time.

The Census Bureau margin of error, an estimated 15,000 uncounted Indian - Americans, is consistent with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Services estimate that the number of undocumented resident immigrants from India in October 1988 was around 15,000. Furthermore, according to INS estimates, the number of undocumented Indian - American immigrants in 1992 had grown to about 28,000. Most of these undocumented Indian immigrations are people who were supposed to visit the United States only for a specific period of time, but then decided to remain indefinitely. The largest portion of these immigrants reside in the states of California, New York, New Jersey, Texas, Florida and Illinois in that order.

The 1990 U.S. Census published some revealing information about the Indian American community. Indians have attained a high level of education. Eighty-five percent of them have at least graduated from high school, and fifty-eight percent of them have received a bachelor's degree or higher. This is an impressive level of higher education, especially when compared with the twenty percent of the total population who hold a bachelor's degree or higher. High levels of education have enabled Indian Americans to become a

productive segment of the population, with 72.3Percent participating in the work force, and an even higher 84Percent of men doing so. Of these labor force participants, 43.6 percent are employed in managerial and professional specialties. Technical, sales, and administrative support occupations constitute another 33.2Percent of the labor force, and the remaining 23.3Percent of the population works in other areas, such as operators, fabricators, laborers and precision production. Higher labor participation rates have also led to a higher per capita income of \$17,777.00 for this community, as compared with a national per capita income of \$14,143.00 The mean earnings of Indian - American households in 1989 was \$56,438.In contrast, the poverty rate for Indian - Americans is only 9.7 percent, lower than the national average 13 percent. Considering the size of the population and income figures, it is estimated that the annual buying power of Indian - Americans in the United States is around twenty billion dollars annually. The average Indian -American family has 3.83 people, and 89.2 percent of this population is married-couple families. To extrapolate, this indicates the importance of family-centered life for the Indian - American community, as most Indian families consist of a husband, wife and their two children.

Not only is the Indian American Community strong in its numbers, facts and figures, but more importantly in the successful endeavors it has ventured to undertake over a spectrum. Large Indian -American communities exist in every state in the nation, the five largest in California, Texas, New York, New Jersey and Illinois, with populations of over 60,000. The Washington D. C. metropolitan area has a community of over 50,000 people. Moreover, Asian Indians are the largest of Asian American ethnic groups in New Jersey, the second largest after the Chinese Americans in New York and Maryland, and after Filipinos in Illinois, and the third largest after

Vietnamese and Chinese in Texas. The Indian American community has strength and unity, as is illustrated by the over 1,000 Indian - American organizations across the country. These organizations engage in a wide range of activities, from cultural festivals and civic work to political activism. Not simply separate groups, many of them belong to larger, unifying umbrella organizations, such as the National Federation of Indian - American Associations (NFIA), the American Indian Associations (AIA), and the Indian American Forum for Political Education (IAFPE), which enables them to pursue their interests in a more cohesive and effective manner.

In their occupations, Indian - Americans have attained a high degree of professionalism. They are most prevalent in the fields of science and technology. Indian - Americans are also involved in academia. Over five thousand Indian -American faculty members are teaching at various universities around the nation. Indian -Americans have also become successful entrepreneurs, and many of the hotels and motels in the United States are owned by Indian Americans. These entrepreneurs have established an organization, the Asian American Hotel Owners Association, (AAHOA) to further their business goals through contact and cooperation with others. AAHOA has over four thousand members, and together these people own over fifty percent of the economy in the lodging sector, with approximately 640,000 rooms. In all, they own around 12,500 hotels, with a total market value of their properties estimated at \$31b. Furthermore, 30,000 Indian -American medical doctors are practicing in the United States today. The first Indian to graduate from a medical school in the United States was a woman, Anandibai Joshee, who graduated from the Women's Medical College, Pennsylvania on March 11, 1886. These physicians have organized themselves through the American Association of Physicians from India (AAPI), a powerful grouping that enables them to better

promote their interests, and have opened up a full time legislative office in Washington, D. C. on December 13. 1995. AAPI is particularly concerned with the future of Indian -American physicians and Indian medical health management organizations, where they may face subtle discrimination. AAPI's effort is reportedly the first of any Indian -American organization to set up a legislative office in Washington, D.C.

Second generation Indian - Americans born in the United States have demonstrated a strong commitment to pursuing higher education. Of the 16,873 U.S. born Indian - Americans between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, 14,776 have graduated at least from high school. Furthermore, 10,965 of them have received a college education. With approximately sixty-five percent of this age group having attained some college education, clearly young Indian - Americans in the United States, following the example set by their parents, are interested in bettering themselves and securing a comfortable position for themselves in the community. Moreover, this new generation of Indian - Americans is pursuing more diverse professional interests. While Indian - Americans have traditionally felt most comfortable entering fields of science and technology these young people are now more aggressively pursuing careers in the social sciences and liberal arts, as well as the traditional sciences. As Indian - Americans branch out into different occupational fields, this diversity will only enhance the strength of the community.

In addition to being a great professional force in many realms, Indian - Americans have also become a strong voting force in the United States. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, of the 593,423 foreign-born Indian - Americans, 34.3 percent of them have been naturalized. Along with the other 212,021 United States born Indian - Americans who are already U.S. citizens, the Indian - American

community comprises a formidable voting force. Certainly, these numbers have increased a great deal in the past six years, as more Indian - American have chosen to undergo the naturalization process, and their voting power is growing. Moreover, by the year 2000, it is projected that there will be around two million Indian - Americans in the United States, making them an even more formidable voting force.

More voting power has also led Indian -Americans to become increasingly involved in the political system of the United States. Indian - Americans have traditionally exercised the most political influence through their campaign contributions, and are actively involved in fundraising efforts for political candidates on the federal, state and local levels. In recent years, they have begun taking a more direct role in politics, as well as continuing to help through their financial contributions. Perhaps the highest profile effort to play a direct role in politics is by Kumar Barve, a US born Indian American, a Delegate for several terms in the Maryland assembly. Several Indian - Americans have held the position of mayor. Examples are Bala K. Srinivas in Hollywood Park, Texas, John Abraham in Teaneck, New Jersey, and Arun Jhaveri in Burien, Washington. Like these leaders, more and more Indian - Americans have the courage, ambition and resources to pursue election for public office. Indian - Americans have also been appointed to various levels of government by the Clinton Administration. Indian -Americans are working at all levels of the political spectrum, and their efforts, particularly in grassroots movements, are growing.

The Indian American community is rapidly emerging as a political force and also helping to promote a better understanding of the policies followed by the Government of India. As a result of these activities, together with the growing commercial interest in

investment in India, the India caucus in the House of Representatives now numbers 112. US Congressmen have been enthusiastic participants in functions celebrating 50 years of India's freedom.

The leading Indian American political grouping is the Indian American Forum for Political Education, an umbrella organization for the majority of political activists in every State. Their annual Congressional lunch held every year on Capitol Hill, was best attended on May 15, 1997 with Senator Helms as Chief Guest.

The cohesion of the community has continued to grow. Although internal differences within community organizations continue to subsist, as they do between organizations, the community was able to get together to celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Independence on August 15, 1997, in Washington DC, with a gala banquet attended by community representatives from across the country, representative of all sections, religious and regional, of Indian Americans. The Banquet was graced by the presence of the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Secretary of State Albright and the Secretary Commerce Bill Daley among a number of distinguished guests. A specially recorded video message from the President Bill Clinton was projected on the occasion.

#### Quick facts from the 2000 United States Census:

- The overall growth rate for Indian Americans from 1990-2000 was 105.9 Percent the largest growth in the Asian American community, the average annual growth rate was 7.6 percent
- Indian Americans represent 0.6 percent of the United States population with 1,678,765 (1.7 million out of 281.4 million)

- Asian Americans constitute 3.6 percent of the United States population, with 10,242,998
- Indian Americans comprise 16.4Percent of the Asian American community
- Indian Americans are the 3rd largest constituency in the Asian American community behind the Chinese American community, and the Filipino American community
- The Asian American community overall grew at a rate of 48.26 percent from 1990-2000
- The total United States population is 281,421,906

### Achievements of Indian Diaspora

The professional Indians started arriving in US in the 1960s and 70s following the easing of immigration rules, and established themselves well before the IT influx took place. One of the many areas in which Indian Americans have done the country of their origin proud has been in science and technology – engineering, biotechnology and medicine. In biotechnology, Indian Americans have done extremely well. A large number of Indian Scientists and engineers work in sensitive US government owned laboratories, including nuclear laboratories. Boeing and NASA employ a significant number of Indian Americans in their technical work force. It is estimated that 35 Percent of Boeing's technical work force are Indians.

About 300,000 Indian Americans work in technology firms in California's Silicon Valley. They account for more than 15 percent of high-tech start-ups and their average annual income is estimated

at \$ 200,000. There are around 650 to 700 Indian companies in the Silicon Valley, with more appearing every day. The impact by prominent Indians in this field is nothing short of extraordinary. Vinod Dham, Father of the Pentium chip, Sabeer Bhatia, founder of Net based email (Hotmail) Vinod Khosla, Kanwal Rekhi and K.B. Chandrashekhar, are just few of the illustrious names in this field.

Several American Universities have prominent Indian Faculty members, The Indian community has also started to fund Chairs on Indian studies, like the Chairs on Indian History at Brown University and University of California and a Jagadish Bhagwati Professorship on Indian Political Economy at Columbia.

Prominent journalists, writers, musicians and film-makers have made a noteworthy contribution. Indian writing in English is now recognized, with Jhumpa Lahiri's Interpreter of Maladies winning the Pulizer Prize in 2000, while Bharati Mukheree and Anita Desai won acclaim earlier. Dr. Fareed Zakaria, after a distinguished stint as Editor of the prestigious Foreign Affairs, has taken over as Editor of Newsweek. An association of South Asian Journalists has been launched in Washington. The recognition given to Pandit Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan and Zakir Hussein who settled in the US, brought Indian music into mainstream consciousness, while Zubin Mehta's success was also a tribute to the talent in the Indian community. Mira Nair's off-beat films on Indian themes have won much acclaim.

The Indo-American community is recognized as one of the influential ethnic community in the United States and is often referred to as a model minority. This community is known as law abiding, and is appreciated for its hard work and adaptability to

local conditions. Their high educational profile, economic success, knowledge of English, experience with democracy in their home country has won them acceptance. Indians have traditionally been appreciative of hard working and successful entrepreneurs and the Indian Americans are perceived to have fulfilled these criteria. Indians are also renowned for their mathematical abilities and technical advise and have earned the distinction of being the largest ethnic group on the mathematical faculties of all American universities. They are rated among the best doctors, engineers, economists and scientists.

The India-American community in the US reflects the diversity of India. The first generation Indian Americans remain deeply attached to their culture and traditions. The community has preserved its close family bonds and linguistic, religious and other traditions. The transnational linguistic organizations such as the Federation of Kerala Associations in North America (FKANA), Federation of Gujarati Associations in North America (FOGANA), Telugu Association of North America (TANA), and the Bengali Association of North America (BANA) hold national conventions and provides platform for its members to closely interact with their families. Indian Christians formed an umbrella organisation – the Indian American Christian Association – in Los Angeles in 2000. The major rganisation representing Indian Muslims is the "Federation of Indian Muslim Associations", which mainly organizes relief work for Muslims in India.

Amongst prominent Indo-Americans are Satveer Choudhary, who was elected State Senator from Minnesota; Nimi McConigley, an Indian born American citizen, currently a State Legislator from Wyoming, who is contesting a United States Senate election and Kumar Barve, a second generation Indian American, who is a legislator in the Maryland Assembly. At least 3 Indian Americans

have held the position of Mayor; Bala K. Srinivas in Hollywood Park, Texas; John Abraham in Teaneck, New Jersey, and Arun Jhaveri in Burien, Washington. Indian Americans were also appointed to various levels of government by the former Clinton Administration. An Indian American Vishwas More, was named a Bob Dole delegate on the 165 member slate to the 1996 Republican National Convention. The Democratic Party has recently launched an Indian American Democratic Campaign Committee with Sunil Aghi, President of the Indian American Political Foundation based in Los Angeles – as its Chairman.

As a result of this activity the State Department now regularly consults representatives of the Indian American community on matters of concern to it and even on Indo-US issues. President Clinton recognized the importance of the Asian American Community and constituted the White House Initiative on Asians and Pacific islanders, which was headed by an Indian American. For the first time, India has a constituency in the US with real influence and status. India is known as a quality source of knowledge and service sector workers, which are the leading sectors of the US economy. The demand for these workers will continue to grow despite a recent slowdown. With the liberation of H1-B visas -100,000 Indians are expected henceforth to enter the US annually. Many will stay on. The Indian American community will therefore continue to grow, in number, power and influence. The September 11 terrorist attacks, have underscored the need both for political mobilization to protect the community's interests, as well as for closer links with India, whose leaders have unhesitatingly taken up the issue of safety for the Indian community with their US counterparts. A sympathetic and positive handling of the issue is required on all sides.

The list of Indians who have made it to the top is impressive. Some of the luminaries are – Sanjiv Sidhu and Ken Sharma of i2 technologies; Ajay Shah and Mukhesh Patel of Smart Modular, Romesh Wadhawani of Aspect, Naveen Jain of InfoSpace, Sanjiv Kumar of Computer Associates, Mukesh Chatter of Nexabit Networks, Steve Sanghi of Mocrochip, Vinod Gupta of InfoUSA and Steve Sanghi, Chairman and CEO of Microchip Technologies. Indians hold the top posts at Citibank and Lucent Technologies' Bell Labs – IIT alumni Arun Netravalli is the President of Bell Labs and Arun Kripalani – Senior Vice President of Qualcomm. 2 hitech magazines have been launched just for the high-tech Indian Community – SiliconIndia and TechMantha.

The success and achievements of Indian Americans have also attracted the attention of major multinationals to India's potential in the IT sector. Thus India is today one of the few developing country which has attracted foreign investment. Many reputed MNCs like GE, CISCO, Sun Microsystems, Microsoft, IBM, Hughes Software established R&D centers in India.

#### Weakness of Indian Communities in USA

A Weakness of the Indian community has however been its failure to unite. The formation of the Indian American National Foundation, a conglomerate umbrella body of four major associations viz. Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA), Association of American Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI), National Federation of Indian Americans (NFIA) and Indian American Forum of Political Education (IAFPE) in 2001 was welcomed as a move by the community to forge unity among Indian groups at the national level. However, although the Foundation was established a liaison office in Washington DC, real unity in terms of

action oriented Policy and programmes is yet to be established. This has inevitably adversely impacted the community's ability to leverage its substantial strengths and capabilities in the political sphere.

In this regard it is interesting to learn the experience of The Associated Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore in the United States.

The Associated: Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore is the central philanthropic and community – building organisation of the Baltimore Jewish community. Under its umbrella of 17 constituent agencies, it provides social, humanitarian, educational, and recreational services to the jewish people of Baltimore and to Jews in Israel and more than 55 other countries around the world.

Although Baltimore's Jewish social service agencies date from 1834, with the founding of the United Hebrew Benevolent Society, it was not until the cast migration of East European Jews to America at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Jewish charitable societies sprang up in significant numbers. The Federated Jewish Charities, comprising 13 agencies, was established in 1906, and the United Hebrew Charities, with 9 agencies, was organised one year later.

In 1921 the Federated Jewish Charities and the United Hebrew charities merged to form the Associated Jewish Charities. Known from the beginning simply as "The Associated", the new organisation set out to address the needs of Baltimore's rapidly changing Jewish community.

Whereas the Jewish community's main concern at the turn of the century had been immigrant resettlement and the relief of poverty, the focus had already begun to shift by the time the Associated was born in 1921. World War I had slowed immigration to a trickle, and in 1924, the process was completed with the near total elimination of further immigration into the United States. Throughout the first decade, the Associated concentrated on consolidating its social service agencies to provide services more efficiently to the Baltimore Jewish Community.

With the outbreak of the depression in the 1930s, the Associated turned its full attention to helping the unemployed and people in need. By the end of 1930, the Associated faced huge deficits at the same time that demand for its social services was dramatically rising. To meet the emergency, Executive Director Harry Greenstein substantially increased the budget of the Jewish social service bureau and adopted a programme of rigid economy for all other agencies. During the nadir of the depression, in September 1932, Mr. Greenstein noted that "Thus far, no Jew in Baltimore has been denied relief"

With the waning of the depression in the late 1930s came another crisis: the gathering storm of fascism and anti – Semitism in Europe. With the outbreak of World War II, Jews throughout North America organised the United Jewish Appeal to raise the huge sums of money needed to assist the victims of Nazism. In Baltimore, many of the UJA leaders were also active in the Associated, in 1941 they organised the Jewish Welfare Fund to coordinate all fundraising and expenditures for overseas relief. The Associated and the JWF remained separate entities and help their annual fund raising campaigns in alternative years.

Also during the war years, the Associated's Women's Division was organised to assist with fund raising efforts. With the end of World War II in Europe, the American Jewish community faced the tasks of assisting Holocaust survivors and finding permanent homes

for refugees. After 1948, these efforts focused on the resettlement of European Jews in the newly created state of Israel.

Thus, the end of the war placed even greater demands on the Jewish Welfare Fund. In 1950, it combined with the Associated to form a new fund raising entity, "Associated Jewish Charities and Welfare Fund". Although the Associated and the Jewish Welfare Fund remained separate organisations, the Combined Campaign brought greater efficiency to the fund raising process. In 1956, the Women's Division, formerly a part time campaign division deveoted exclusively to fund raising, assumed a year round status and expanded its activities to include community outreach and education. And in 1969, the Associated Jewish Charity and the Jewish Welfare Fund united to form a single organisation.

In an effort to reflect better its role in the national Jewish federation system and its primary mission within the local community, the Associated officially changed its name to THE ASSOCIATED: Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore. At the same time, THE ASSOCIATED's mission began to undergo a subtle change. While care of the elderly and relief for people in need remained paramount, THE ASSOCIATED began to concentrate its effort on Jewish education and programmes to foster Jewish identity. Especially given the increased security of the state of Israel and the growing affluence of the local Jewish community, the problems of Jewish identity loomed as the greatest potentialthreat to Jewish survival in the late twentieth century.

Today, THE ASSOCIATED is an organisation fundamentally different from its predecessor of 1921. Its constituent agencies have expanded, consolidated, and changed; it now has a full - fledged Women's Department; and its mission includes supporting Jewish life in Israel and overseas. But its fundamental purpose remains just

what it was in 1921: to serve and enhance Jewish life in Baltimore, in Israel, and in every Jewish community throughout the world.

Though it is highlighted that, Indians are emerging as jews in United States, every Indian Americans should come out of caste regional and religious bias to form a United Indian American Community. This will ad more strength to the voices of the community.

# Diaspora Philanthropy and Giving Patterns of Indian Americans

Indian Americans realize the debt they owe to the country of their origin in terms of the value systems which have helped them rise meteorically in American society, and also for the high quality education they have received in India at virtually no cost. Such Indians have been contributing towards charitable causes in India, motivated by a desire to give back something to India. In their own words, the reasons for these charitable acts are — "One is the obvious emotional attachment to India. Two is when you do something like this, there is much more satisfaction than the consumption of the same wealth. The third factor is that each one of us believes our image over here is strongly influenced by where India stands in the world.

Donations have been made by Silicon Valley Indians towards educational projects such as the IIT's, to which most credit their personal professional success. IIT alumni associations have been most active in this regard. According to them, the tradition of philanthropy in the West fits in with the traditional Indian concept of guru Dakshina. A number of organizations have been formed to support social welfare projects in India such as child welfare, literacy

and rural community programmes. Academicians of Indian origin have held seminars / conventions on India thus giving prominence to current issues of importance to India, which have attracted substantial interest. Some Indians are keen to fund development projects in their home towns or help to channel foreign investment to India.

Few concerned members of the Indian Community have however, repeatedly used the issue of creating a hassle-free environment to encourage such philanthropic activities. They have suggested a nodal point which could process charitable donations, facilitate investment and trade, voluntary work, transfer of technology and know-how etc. According to them there is a vast suppressed desire to help India in whatever way possible provided the right mechanisms are put in place.

Several successful Indians in the US have demonstrated a strong desire to make a solid contribution to India's economic development. US based IT magnate and venture capitalist Kanwal Rekhi helped to found The Indus Entrepreneurs or TiE, a non-profit professional' network established to foster entrepreneurship through venture capital funding.

TiE's collection target for the five IITs is \$ 500 million. Rekhi himself donated \$ 2 million to IIT-Bombay. K.B. Chandrasekhar contributed to a centre at the Madras Institute of Technology. Fellow co-founder B.V. Jagdeesh donated \$ 1 million towards schools in Bangalore. Vinod Gupta of infoUSA found the Vinod of Gupta School of Management in India and set up a polytechnic or women in his native Rampur. A San Jose pathologist, Dr. Milima Sabharwal, founded Home of Hope which raised \$20,000 in 1999 for a Chennai orphanage. A New York taxi driver, Om Dutt Sharma set up a girls' school in his native village in Punjab and now hopes to build a

hospital. Pavan Nigam, co-founder of Healtheon WebMD, is launching a free IT training institute in Kanpur and investing in an Indian Dotcom. Prabhu Goel, founder of Gateway Design Automation has contributed \$ 10 million to set up the Foundation for Excellence to fund the education of deserving underprivileged students in India.(Report of the High level committee on Indian Diaspora,2001). These are few of the philanthropic initiatives of Indian Americans in USA. In order to assess the giving patterns of Indian Americans a primary survey was conducted primarily in and around Baltimore- Washington DC area during the year 2000.

## A Study on Giving Patterns of Indian Americans in USA.

In order to study the giving patterns of Indian Americans, the author conducted a primary survey of 150 Indian Americans in United States mainly during 2000 August to December. In order to increase the sample size, later on questionnairs were e-mailed to many of the respondents. This was the research undertaken by the author as part of the International Fellowship Programme of Johns Hopkins University.

Methodology: The study was based on a primary survey of 150 Indian Americans. Questionnaire method was adopted to collect information. (See annexure for the questionnaire). Stratified random sampling method was used to select the respondents. The respondents include all major religions such as Hindus, Christians and Muslims. Special emphasis was also given to select respondents from all professions, economic and social groups. The information was collected through e-mailing, focus group meetings, occasions where in Indians gathered, gathering of Indians during festivals such as Diwali.

Table 3

Duration of Stay of Respondents in USA

Categories	Number	Percentage
Less than 2 years	19	12.7
2 – 5 years	29	19.3
5 – 10 years	21	14.0
10 – 15 years	23	15.3
15 – 20 years	22	14.7
More than 20 years	36	24.0
Total	150	100.0

Table 3 shows that 24 percent of the respondents stayed in United States for more than 20 years and only 12.7 percent stayed less than two years. The data base was derived from the member list of various Indian American organisations and Indian Embassy mailing list. Since it takes some time to become a member in these organisations, majority of the H1B visas holders are not able to contact for the primary survey. However, special attempt was made to contact H1B visa holders through friends, well wishers and embassy officials. It is noticed that, many of the second generation Indians were not reflected in any of the database of Indian Americans. Many of them were not willing to associate themselves with India, hence majority of the respondents were of midnight's children.

Table 4

Educational Attainment of Respondents

Categories	Number	Percentage
Under graduate	11	7.3
Graduates (Arts, Science and Commerce)	39	26.0
Post Graduates (Arts, Science and Commerce)	42	28.0
Professional Qualifications (CA, Medical & Law Degrees)	20	13.3
Technical Degrees (BE, B Tech and others)	27	18.0
Others (P. hD)	11	7.3
Total	150	100.0

Table 4 shows that majority of the respondents are post graduates in Arts, Science and Commerce. Under graduate respondents are as low as 7.3 percent. Technical, Medical and other professionals constitute 31.3 percent of the total respondents. It is assumed that, technical, medical and other professionals are placed in good positions and earn more money than others. An attempt was made to classify the respondants into seven major categories.

Table 5

Occupational Categories of Respondents

Categories	Number	Percentage
IT Professionals	27	18.0
Medical Professionals	19	12.7
Academicians (Teaching & Research)	38	25.3
CAs, Advocates & Other Professionals	15	10.0
Business	16	10.7
Administrative & other middle level jobs	26	17.3
Others	9	6.0
Total	150	100.0

Table 5 shows that majority of the respondents are involved in academics, related to research and teaching followed by IT professionals (18 percent). IT professionals are comparatively new in United States, while academicians are early arrivals. Many of the under graduate respondents are in administrative and other middle level jobs. Few are also in Government service and few are in supervisory level jobs in private sector. Business category includes small and medium level businesses such as travel agents, real estate agents, financial consultants, grocery shop owners, auto mechanics etc.

Frequency of Charitable Donations in Past
Two Years

Frequency	Number	Percentage
1-2 times	38	25.3
3 – 4 times	55	36.7
4 – 5 time	31	20.7
More than 5 times	26	17.3
Total	150	100.0

Table 6 shows that 36.7 percent of the respondents are highly philanthropic in nature and given charitable donations 3 – 4 times in the past two years and 17.3 percent of the respondents donated more than 5 times. The respondents who donated less frequently mentioned that no body approached them for donations. The generation X people do not have much information on various ways and means of donations. Hence their donations are mainly focussed on religious giving and donations for cultural activities. During the time of natural calamities and wars, most of them donated overwhelmingly. Many of them could not donate because no one motivated them to donate. Many of the midnight's children opined that, since they are de-rooted from Indra it is very difficult them to donate to India.

An attempt was made to analyse the religious affiliation and charitable giving. It is belived that religion is a major cause for charitable giving.

Religious Affiliation of the Respondents

Religions	Number	Percentage
Hindus	84	56.0
Christians	51	34.0
Muslims	11	7.3
Others	4	2.7
Total	150	100.0

It is noticed that though 56 percent of the respondents are Hindus, Christians donate more frequently than Hindus. The number of Christians donated more than five times are much higher than Hindus and Muslims. Same pattern is also observed in the frequency category of 4 – 5 times. In Christianity, the church plays the role of motivator for giving. But in Hinduism, there is no such body to organise people to donate for a cause and it is not compulsory for them to visit temples. On the other hand, Hindus donate cash and kind to temples, which is very difficult to quantify. Most of them put cash in the donation box of the temples and it is difficult for them to remember and hence it is difficult to quantify.

Amount of Charitable Donations in the Past Two Years

Amount in \$	Number	Percentage
Less than 500	51	34.0
500 – 1000	59	39.3
1000 –2000	22	14.7
2000 – 3000	7	4.7
More than 3000	11	7.3
Total	150	100.0

Among the respondents, only 7.3 percent donate more than 3000 \$ in the past two years. 39.3 percent donated 500\$ to 1000\$. It is observed that there is an inverse relation between the duration of stay and charitable donations. The respondents, who are staying in US for past several years are de-rooted from homeland and do not maintain much relations and linkages. On the other hand, recent arrivals still maintain a strong bondage to the homeland and would like to donate to improve the situation, though their income is much less than the people staying for longer years. This is not the case with business magnets and very rich Indian Americans.

Causes for Charitable Donations

Causes	Number	Percentage
Natural Calamities	39	26.0
War, riots etc	23	15.3
Charity on request	21	14.0
Medical help	19	12.7
Religious Giving	22	14.7
Education for poor	17	11.3
Sponsorship (Children or Aged)	9	6.0
Total	150	100.0

Cause or issue plays an important role in charitable giving. Table 9 highlights that majority of the charitable donations were made at the time of natural calamities like Lathur earthquake and Orissa Cyclone. Many of them donated during Kargil War. During Kargil war, Indian embassy in Washington DC received huge amount for the war fund. It is also noticed that many of the respondents donate poor people for medical help and education.

Majority of them donated through cheque, cash and few through online. In return to their charitable donation, they only expect the proper utilisation of their contribution for the cause for which it was meant. As mentioned earlier, the motivators for the charitable giving were friends and relatives, neighbours, colleagues and own religious organisations.

An attempt was made to assess the potential donation through an accountable and reliable organisation that can provide maximum tax benefits. Though many of the respondents were apprehensive mentioning that it depends on the cause, their financial situation and credibility of the organisation. However with motivation and sensitisation, many are willing to give more than what they are giving at present.

Potential Donations per year

Table 10

Amount in US \$	Number	Percentage
Less than 500	13	8.7
500 – 1000	11	7.3
1000 –2000	33	22.0
2000 – 3000	67	44.7
More than 3000	. 26	17.3
Total	150	100.0

This table shows that if a credible organisation with maximum tax benefit advocates for a good cause, with online giving facility, many are willing to enhance their charitable donations. Table 10 shows that with this facility, more people are willing to donate 2000\$ - 3000\$ per year. The number of donors presently giving less than 500\$ are willing to donate more, provided if they come across a credible organisation with online giving facility and tax benefits. Hence the percentage shown a declining trend from 34.0 given in Table No. 8 to 8.7 in the present table.

#### Major findings and conclusion:

The study shows that Indians are emerging as a powerful community in United States though comprising only 0.6 percent of the total American population. The growth of Indian American community is larger than any other community in United States.

The rate of Indian immigration accelerated rapidly in 1990s fueled by the demand for hightech workers. Unlike midnight's children, the young professionals are inspired by American idealism. Indian immigration has had dramatic impact on the US, particularly in California and Silicon Valley. According to 2000 Census Indians are the third largest immigrant community in United States. Silicon Valley has become a major Indian Centre. Santa Clara County has the third largest Indian population in the country afters Queens County, NY and Cook County in Illinois. The Indian community is distinct because of its relatively high level of education. The demand for Indian professionals is such that they dominate H1-B visa category. In 2000, nearly 40 percent of startups and venture capital proposals were by Indians.

Indian Americans give biculturally donating to both Indian and American causes. The study highlights that midnight's children distrust new organisations and they give only to people whom they know very well. Henic an inverse relationship between giving and duration of stay is emerged. It is found that philanthropy is there in the blood of every Indian American and need of the hour is to motivate and channalise for a common cause. This study also highlighted that, Christians are more geneous in organised giving than Hindus and Muslims. A large proportions of the respondents are looking forword for a credible organisations with more tax benefit and good case to enhance their philanthropy. Of course online giving will be an added advantage for any such initiatives.

# Annexure

Centre for Civil Society Studies, Institute for Policy Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Wyman Park Building, Baltimore, USA.

### Research on Indian Diaspora (Kindly fill and return back)

- 1. Name (Optional):
- 2. How long you have spent in USA altogether:
- 3. What is your educational level:
- 4. What is your religious affiliation:
- 5. What is your occupation:
- 6. Did you ever contributed money for a common cause in India other than contribution to friends and relatives during the past 2 years: Yes/No

If yes How many times did you contribute:

Total approximate amount \$\_\_\_\_\_

For what purpose did you contribute:

How you did you pay (by cheque, draft, online etc):

Did anyone motivate you to donate:

Yes/No

If Yes, mention the source:

In return to your contribution what do you expect back:

If **No**, What are the possible reasons for your non – contribution to India's development?

7. In case if there is an accountable and reliable organisation (501C(3)) with maximum tax benefit in USA working for India's development with online facility, how much money you are willing to contribute in a year?

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# A General Note on the Telugu Diaspora in the United States

Bhaskar. T.L.S & Chandrasekhar Bhat

International migration has become the order of the day and people are on move more than ever before- evolving social networks, cultural linkages, and the emergence of transnationalism. As a result of the streams of migrations across the frontiers, countries around the world are interconnected and no nation- state has total control over the multifaceted relations that link it to other nation-states. Through international migrations, multinational corporations and global communication networks the nation-state finds itself in a node of a complicated web of transnational relations (Featherstone 1990). Diasporas can be viewed as one of the results of the international migration over the years, and are today analysed from the point view of associated concepts like *deterritorialisation*, *displacement*, *exile*, *multiculturalism*, etc.

The word diaspora has a Greek (first used in the book Deuteronomy) origin and it is a compound of two Greek words dia (over, apart) and speirein (to scatter), meaning a migration and a consequent colonisation. The word was specifically used to convey the experience of the Jews in exile after the Nebuchadnezzer's Babylonian conquests in 597 and 587 B.C.E. The concept was evolved, especially to refer to the dispersion of Jews among the Gentiles after the Babylonian conquest or the aggregate of Jews or Jewish communities scattered "in exile" outside Palestine or presentday Israel. But, presently the word and the concept are widely used to denote variety of populations such as-exiles, immigrants, refugees, etc, and also applied to the descendants of those communities that have left their homelands for various reasons under different circumstances. This makes clear the point that the 'current notions of exile, nomadism, and diaspora are inescapably tied to the Hebrew Bible, ancient Greece, Christianity, and their divergent intellectual, artistic, and political afterlives. Stories of pilgrimage, displacement, and dispersion are central to Western tradition, and we can deploy these concepts more creatively the better we understand their multiple histories' (Peters 1999: 17).

The present paper attempts to provide a brief outline of the Telugu diaspora in the United States. Since their initial migration during the early 1960s, Telugus have emerged as an influential and affluent ethnic minority by their visible presence in the US in terms of their occupational profile, rising income levels and contributions to the US economy. The paper also recognises the emerging networks between the Telugu diaspora and the homeland, and among the Telugu diaspora communities in different countries.

## The Telugus

Telugus form the pre- dominant population in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the fifth largest state in India. The state consists of 23 districts divided in to three major geographical regions- Coastal, Telengana, and Rayalaseema. The Telugu language is spoken by nearly 88% of the population in Andhra Pradesh (Rao 1983). The Telugu speaking population consists of 88% Hindus, 7% Muslims, 4% Christians, and 1% of Sikhs, Parsees, Buddhists and Jains (Rao 1983). Telugus are also known as the Andhras. Andhras were first mentioned in the Aitreya Brahmana. The word Telugu is used synonymously with the words Andhra and Tenugu.

# Telugu Emigration

The Telugus presence in the United States is a post-colonial or post- 1960s phenomenon. They have been part of many Indians who migrated during the period as scientists, engineers, and students under various schemes of scholarships and assistantships to pursue their higher studies. The present article attempts to trace the history of Telugu diaspora in various countries, especially focussing on the Telugus in the United States. The migration of Telugus occurred as early as 1830s during the colonial times, under the system of *indenture* and *kangani* labour practices to the British and French colonies, where as the post-colonial migration consisted of professionally trained and skilled, middle and upper class elite. The latter process is referred to as brain drain.

The abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833<sup>1</sup> necessitated a search for the labourers to work on the plantations. The British planters followed the South American planter's system of recruiting the Chinese labourers. As a result many Indians were recruited<sup>2</sup> as *contract* labourers to work on the sugar and coffee plantations. Telugus formed part of this recruitment and migrated prominently to Mauritius, South Africa, Malaya, Fiji, Burma and Ceylon during the colonial times. The following paragraphs briefly explain Telugu migration to some of the erstwhile colonies.

Telugu migration to South Africa occurred as a part of the indenture system from the Madras Presidency. Under the British rule several parts of present Andhra Pradesh were under Madras Presidency. It was believed that the first ever-Indian migrant to the colony was a Telugu, who was taken there in July 1885, to work for RathBone, an English farmer in Natal. Apart from a large number of Naidus (Naidoos) and Reddys, the migrants included peasants, farm labourers, clerical, teachers, Kamsala (weavers), Kummara (potters), and a few Komatis (traders). Except for a few families,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Slavery was abolished as an institution in 1834 and as a practice in 1838 in the British Empire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The licence to recruit was issued by the Protector of Emigrants and counter signed by the Magistrate of the district.

most lost their identity in due course of time. The Andhras were very active in business along the coast of Natal, Durban and Pietermartizburg, and were involved not only in the distribution of food and household goods but also owned cinema halls, garages, and some as transport operators and laundry owners. The South African Andhra Maha Sabha is involved with the promotion of Telugu culture and identity over the generations.

Telugus migrated to Mauritius as part of indenture in 19th century. The first Telugu emigrant was from Coringa (Koringa) who travelled onboard 'Ganges' in the year 1836, to be followed by people from areas surrounding Vizianagaram. Telugus were listed in the Emigration records under various names like Coringas, Jentoos, Telings, and Kalings. In 1843, Telugus migrated in large number, for the first time in the ship 'Coringa Packet' from the port of Coringa near Kakinada. The ship is believed to carried nearly 200 Gentoos and Malabaries, and was owned by Ponamanda Venkata Reddy. Beginning from 1837 to 1880s, nearly 20,000 Today, Telugus amount to nearly 60000 on the island nation, and have a distinctive culture of their own in terms of language, festivals and temples. They are widely spread on the island and are involved in wide variety of occupations. Presently the socio-cultural activities of Telugus are coordinated by the Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha which has nearly 85 branches on the island nation. It is involved with various cultural activities of the Telugus, like teaching the children/youth the language, celebrating festivals<sup>3</sup>, building temples (notable are Simhadri Appanah Mandiram of Beau Vallon, and Vishnu Mandiram of St. Pierre), and the uphill task of passing on the Teluguness to the next generations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The prominent festivals are Rama Bhajanamu, Ammoru Pandaga, and Govinda Mala

Telugus formed a part of the kangani labour to migrate along with Tamilians and Malayalese to the Malay Peninsula. The main recruiting centres were Vizagapatnam and Nagapatnam. The contract in the kangani form was for three years as compared to five years in the indentured form. The labourers mainly worked on the rubber plantations, oil palms, and coconut plantations. The whole process of recruitment was based on systematic caste/community network among villagers (generally from same family or extended kin-kinship) by a maistry who has already served under the European plantation. Most of the migrants are from the castes- Gavara, Kapu (sometimes called as Telaga in coastal Andhra) and Velama (the richer section among them are called *Velama dora*). The remaining is from *chakali* (washer man), mangali (barber) and others. The word maistry usually denotes head of a group of construction/ repair/ or coolie workers in coastal Andhra. Another word/ term mentioned is 'Dandelu' or ' Tandelu' which literally means 'dandunu elevadu' (one who rules/ directs the group). There are two kinds of Dandelu- a) Pedda Dandelu who co-ordinates or heads as nearly as 100 families on a large plantation or a network of plantations, and b) Dandelu who heads some 20 families on a single large plantation.

The first batch of Telugus arrived in Fiji along with other south Indians on the vessel ELBE in 1903 to the Nakulau Depot as *indenture* (Section 3.3.1) labourers. Like all other Telugu emigrants, the Fiji Telugus too promoted their culture. Language was one distinctive feature that separated Telugus from other Indian communities, and caused certain rifts in the Indian community. The *sirdars* who are generally from the north India could not comprehend the south Indian languages until they could speak broken Hindustani. As Bal Govinda puts it in his article, 'At last on 20th April, 1941 under the chairmanship of David Robert "The Dakshina India Andhra Sangam of Fiji" was started to promote Telugu language'

(Bal Govinda 1981: 184). Although Telugus still retain certain distinctive cultural characteristics like the rituals and traditions, with the passage of time, Hindustani became the lingua franca of Mauritian Indians irrespective of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

# Indian Migration to the US

Migration of Indians to the West, especially to the US since the 1960sis a post-colonial phenomenon. This period saw the emergence of a favourable immigration climate to the US, institution of scholarships funding the research/study of the meritorious and recruitment of the qualified technical manpower from India. The major factor that facilitated and favoured the recruitment of Indians was their capabilities of comprehending good English, which by then has become a universal link language for communication. Many Indians migrated to the US beginning from as early as 1950s as students. The later years saw the migration of doctors (the Vietnam War crisis), immigration under family reunion and the software professionals. Today the magniture of Indian diaspora in the U.S. is nearly 1.7 million strong.

As mentioned by Helweg and Helweg (1990: xii) the post-colonial migrations from the East to the West can be explained with the following frame-work:

- (a) 'the technological base of the receiving nation is not industrial, but post- industrial, oriented towards the service sector.'
- (b) 'the socio- economic level of the migrant community is primarily educated professionals, not uneducated peasants or laborers.'

The following are some of the distinctive features of the postcolonial migration to the US and other developed nations of which Indians were a part:

- the economies in the developed world experienced a 'major shift in the western economies from industrial to postindustrial
- a need for the requirement of labour force for the above said shift and major changes in the immigration policies
- transformation in the communication technologies, and transportation easing the migratory processes and contacts with the *home*

the evolution of the new immigrant, 'the professional migrant' (educated, proficient in English, often from south or south east Asian nation migrating towards the west or developed countries)

# Telugu Diaspora in the US

The period after 1960s saw advancements in Science, Technological applications, Communication and Printing media. The Government of Andhra Pradesh's efforts to initiate major transformation in the provision of education have resulted in a situation where the secondary and higher education is made available to all major towns and cities of the State of Andhra Pradesh. Both the parents and students are more aware of the professions that were in significant demand much as engineering and medicine and were therefore sought after. This has resulted in a pool of professionals throughout the country, and specifically in states like Andhra Pradesh. It is well known fact that the late 1980s saw a shift to courses in the

applications of computer science producing both software and hardware professionals.

Emphasis on education gave rise to a steep growth in the number of professionals produced in the market outnumbering the jobs available in India. The market operations also show that whenever the professionals are better paid, they tend to migrate. Such a process, when occurs to destinations outside the country, is often called 'Brain drain.' With the revolutionary growth of the software application industry along with the Information Technology in the state of Andhra Pradesh, migration from Andhra Pradesh registered a steep increase with software engineers and consultants migrating to the United States.

The migration of Telugus to the US began in the early 1950s but took momentum during the late 1960s after the *quota system* was abolished in the US with the Hart Celler Act law passed in 1965<sup>4</sup>. Many Telugus also made use of the available scholarships/ fellowships to join the leading universities in the US and carry out research. Some migrated as faculty, and still others as engineers to work in the power projects. The Telugu diaspora is mainly a result of the people who migrated from the *homeland* (Andhra Pradesh) 'in search of work' (point b, Cohen 1996: 515). During the 1970s and 80s, Telugus were seen migrating as doctors after the Vietnam War crisis. The migration of Telugus took a new turn in late 1980s with the software industry expanding in India and especially in cities like Bangalore and Hyderabad. This industry was exporting, not products but people, "a process Indians call body shopping" (Streamlau John: 1997). The migration went to the extent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Hart Celler Act, a modified version of The McCarren-Walter Act of 1952, was passes in the October 1965. This Act abolished the national origins quota system and each country was fixed with a quota of 20 000 visas per one year. The Act also moved towards family union of the already citizens of the United States, apart from stressing on the labor certificate.

that an outstanding pool of Indian talent outside India is in the United States, a talent that is a pre-requisite for an advanced nation. Telugus formed the major proportion of Indian software professionals presence in the US from the early 1990s and more so with the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1990<sup>5</sup>

## Types of Telugus in the United States

Rao, Venugopala (1999) classifies Telugus who are presently staying in the United States into the following categories:

- (a) Students who are pursuing higher studies.
- (b) Persons who obtained their postgraduate education in the USA and settled down as permanent residents.
- (c) Persons who entered the US as professionals.

Apart from the above categories, dependants<sup>6</sup> form a major chunk of the Telugu population in the United States.

## Places of Origin

The major portion of the Telugus in the US has their origins in the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh, mainly the districts surrounding the Godavari river basin. Since the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh and before, the Coastal Andhra was far developed than the other two regions of the state. The differences are due to the availability of natural resources and fertile land on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Immigration Act of 1990 took a 'labor market approach' and 'linked the admission criteria to the enhancement of a country's capacity to effectively compete in the international marketplace.' (Refer: Glenn Garvin's 1995 Article.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The 1965 Law has nearly 11 categories of people whom the US Citizens can sponsor to immigrate and join as extended family member. The immediate preference is given to the spouse, minor/unmarried children and parents

Coast. The areas of the Telangana and Rayalaseema were under feudalism and are the most backward regions of the state. As a part of the Madras Presidency, the coastal districts received the benefit of formal education with English as the medium of instruction. It is initially from the coastal Andhra Pradesh that a large number of doctors emigrated to the United States during the early 1960s followed by the engineers, teachers and students. But the scale of emigration reached its peak during 1980s and 1990s with the enormous employment opportunities for the software professionals in the United.

# Telugus and Telugu Identity

Most of the Telugus in the United States are associated with variety of occupations, and their dispersal all over the US is obvious. Geographically, the Telugu are found in almost all the states although majority of them have settled in areas like New Jersey, New York, Dallas, Chicago and in the state of California. In order to promote their community living and culture, Telugus have formed associations wherever they are in substantial numbers. One of the first associations, which was founded in early 1970s is the Telugu Association of Greater Chicago (TAGH). In the later years, associations like TANA and ATA emerged as prominent associations in preserving and promoting the culture and identity of people of Telugu origin. These associations and other consequent ones have become effective platforms for the Telugu cultural, literary, and social activities in the US. The first generation of Telugus with strong interests in literary and cultural aspects of Telugu identity find the associations as forums for their cultural expression. These associations provide opportunities for the second generation to learn the Telugu language and Telugu cultural practices.

- all the Telugu associations are non-profit oriented bodies aiming to bring Telugu speaking population on a common platform. These cultural bodies are often associated with the following activities and as revealed from their brochure or online webpage, the aims of the Telugu associations' are:
- bringing Telugus of the area together on a common platform
- promoting the language among the younger generations
- preservation of Telugu identity which is expressed through various ways such as celebrating festivals in the local Hindu temples, organising literary activities, etc
- financial support to various individuals/associations involved in the promotion of Telugu identity (this is evident from the fact many Telugu associations have their own Foundations in this regard, like the TANA Foundation, ATA Foundation etc)
- encouraging the second generation's socio- cultural programmes
- dealing with the emerging political and economic networks with the *homeland*
- acting as a *mediator* between the diaspora and the *homeland*.

Every association has its members, the executive committee and the Board of Directors ruled by prescriptive constitution with articles (and relevant sections) dealing with every activity of the association. The associations have programs like:

conducting annual or bi annual conferences,

- cultural programmes
- entertainment like movies, music nights etc
- sponsoring artists from the home back and allowing them to perform in the U.S
- publish weekly and monthly newsletters for the Telugus in the United States
- raise funds for various cultural, developmental, and philanthropic activities, both in the United States and in Andhra Pradesh.

The last point can be explained further taking the example of the TANA Foundation and ATA Foundation, which are involved with activities towards the transformation of the home either with direct participation of the Foundation<sup>7</sup> or Foundation working as a mediator in channelling the contributions towards socio-economic development.

It may be observed that as more and more Telugus migrate to the United States, the number of associations is increasing. When there were few Indians way back in 1960s, the associations were on all India basis. As the migration picked up from various states, this led to the formation of associations based on region, language and even caste community. The contemporary emigration has resulted in increasing diversity among the Telugus in the United States. There are instances of people forming into associations on the caste basis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The TANA Foundation is currently associated with the *Naandi* Trust in Hyderabad in charity works. It has already donated \$ 1 million towards the construction of school buildings (2001) and increased the contribution to \$ 2 million (2002) in the Janmabhoomi Programme (19 Mar 2002. *Deccan Chronicle*). It is also involved in a pilot project to eradicate open defecation, another project to provide clean drinking water in 46 villages in 23 districts (24 Dec 1999, *The Hindu*)

The visible example is the existing functioning of the two main associations on the caste basis- the TANA which is dominated by the *Kamma* caste/community group and the ATA by the *Reddy* caste group - both castes being the dominant and ruling castes in the politics of Andhra Pradesh. Whatever be the reasons

behind the formation of the organizations, these associations are doing a commendable job through promoting various activities in order to maintain the cultural heritage of the Telugus in the United States.

## **Economic Linkages with homeland**

The Government of Andhra Pradesh, with the inputs from institutions like CII, is working towards a healthy policy towards the Non-Resident Telugus (NRTs) to facilitate their activities in the homeland. The government of Andhra Pradesh (AP) is showing increasing interest in building strong bonds with the NRTs by its friendly policy to promote investment, philanthropic contribution, and technological has recently been favourable towards the NRTs by its least interference, and capital transfers<sup>8</sup> towards the home. AP has become the most attractive destination for the investors, with proper infrastructure and conducive atmosphere to do business and above all with key initiatives taken by the present government to turn this state in to Swarnandhra Pradesh- the only state in India with a Vision 2020. Apart from the steps taken by the government,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The NRTs and the Telugu Diaspora can be of great use to the State of Andhra Pradesh in the sense that they are in a land that is known for its scientific and technological advancements. The state of A.P., heading towards Information Revolution based on welfare principles, can avail the knowledge of these people in a constructive way. In fact, the Telugu Diaspora can act as a strong lobby group, and as reliable mediators in the transfer of the appropriate technology for the state of AP, a technology that is suitable for its transformative activities. This is in this context that the policy towards the NRI Telugus, should not be just to attract the Dollars as in the case of Indian policy towards the NRIs, but should be a healthier one.

there is a sea change in the mindset of the bureaucracy, the government in their attitudes towards attracting the foreign funds, and promoting development in the state of AP.

As the Indian economy opens up more, Hyderabad is turning to be a hub of economic activity. The transformation of the state with the dynamic activities of inspired Telugus overseas as the government tries to attract more and more Telugus to invest in overseas projects It is in this direction that American Telugu Association (ATA) has approached the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) to organise an International Conference on "Business Opportunities & Technologies from USA" during 20-21 December 2001, providing a platform for an interaction between the ATA and the Government of Andhra Pradesh (AP). The purpose was to formulate plausible linkages between the businesses of the NRI Telugus in the US (direct migrants, descendants of old Telugu diaspora), AP entrepreneurs and the State of Andhra Pradesh. It was also an occasion to identify possible avenues of investment at both ends, promoting employment opportunities in new emerging fields like Bio-informatics & Biotechnology, and address the politicoeconomic and legal issues related there in.

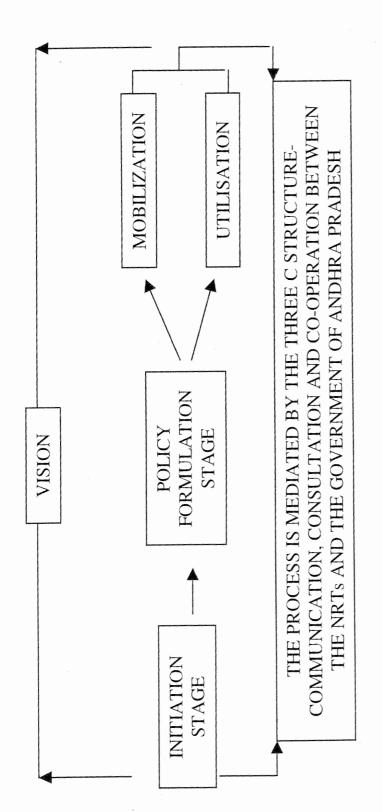
The following figures (I & II) depict a futuristic network model to integrate the Telugu Diaspora with the motherland:

Host I - Host IV refer to various destinations that Telugus have emigrated under the colonial and post-colonial migratory streams, such as Mauritius, South Africa, United States etc)<sup>9</sup>

WTF refers to the World Telugu Federation, the apex body for all the Telugu associations in India and overseas in the diaspora.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Refer to the Table I in the conclusion which refers to various destinations.

The 3 C structure refers to the processes of communication, consultation and co-operation between the NRTs and the government of Andhra Pradesh



(FIG.1) Heading Towards Transnational Business Model- Stages

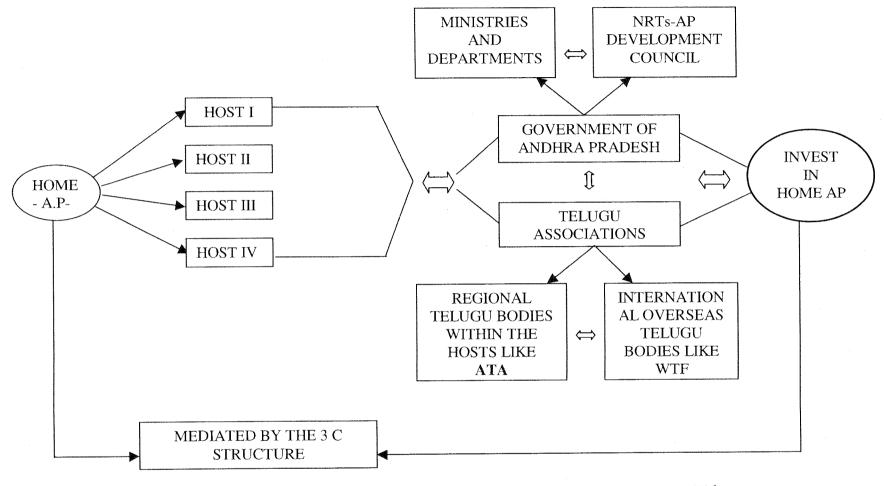


Figure Showing The Transnational Dynamics Between The Overseas Telugus And The State Of Andhra Pradesh, India

# **Emerging Virtual Telugu Community**

The advancements in the field of communication technology have accelerated the emerging networks more active, fast, instantaneous and cheaper than before, with the computer mediated communication. These networks are a platform for the Telugu diaspora, to interact with itself and with other migrants in various parts of the world, and also with the Telugus back at home. It is this interaction between the Telugu diaspora and the Telugus that resulted in a virtual online community of Telugus. This presence is felt online in terms of web pages (of Telugu associations, personals, literary<sup>10</sup> and entertainment<sup>11</sup> pages etc), discussion forums/online groups<sup>12</sup>, thread messages, list forums, and Telugu Usenet groups<sup>13</sup>. The online interaction between the Telugu diaspora and the Telugus back at home results in a strong affiliation towards each other and help s in reinforcing the Telugu identity among the diaspora. There are also chances of developing some kind of sub-nationalism among the Telugu diaspora based on regional sentiments, that have really stretched with communication across the boundaries and cyberspace has evolved into an effective platform.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Online Telugu literary magazines lines <u>www.eemaata.com</u>, <u>www.sahiti.org</u>, <u>www.suryakumari.com</u>, and others have not only perpetuated the Teluguness, but also encouraged the emerging Telugu diasporic literature in the US and elsewhere.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The most notable entertainment pages are <u>www.telugucinema.com</u> and <u>www.idlebrain.com</u> which mainly focus on the Telugu cinema.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Racchabanda is one such group with Diasporic Telugus exchanging their expertise in the Telugu literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> TELUSA is one visible example.

#### Conclusion

The following table gives an overview of the Telugu emigration at different stages of time-

Time- period	Prominent Form <sup>14</sup>	Prominent Locations/Destinations
Pre-colonial	Religious/Trade	West Asia, South East Asia and Africa
Colonial	Indenture	Mauritius, South Africa and Fiji
	Kangani	Malaya and Ceylon
	Maistry	Burma
Post-colonial	Professional	USA, UK, Europe and Australia
	Professional/Labour	West Asia/Gulf
	Family reunion	Places of destination

Diaspora as a shared consciousness by nearly 3 lakh Telugus in the US, who trace their roots to the state of AP, and this Telugu diaspora is of recent origin. Inspite of differences and internal divisions among the Telugu diaspora in terms of region, caste and religion, various developments in the communication technologies, movement of diasporic individuals across the nations (intra-diasporic movement), and movement between the host countries and the home, have lessened these differences by stressing the *pan Telugu* identity. The commitment towards the homeland and the notions about the home never diminished. More than ever before, the diasporic community is well connected with the home, and interconnected within the Telugu diaspora through lateral and horizontal flows. The mutual linkages between the Telugu diaspora

<sup>14</sup> The Table shows the major form of migration and is not all-inclusive.

and the *homeland* constitute an important element of the diasporahomeland bonds. Where as the return migration of intellectuals and professionals is considered as an important event in order to contribute to development of the homeland, equally important are transnational flows like investment, remittances, emerging business establishments, and carriage of cultural commodities across nations etc. The above mentioned linkages and transnational networks are facilitated by the advancements in the communication and internet technologies. The networks, overall, reconstitute various elements of Telugu diaspora by bringing them on a common global platform. This process is termed as (Peters 1999) reconstitution-in-dispersion.

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# **Appendix**

Telugu Associations in the United States: A List

Source: www.telugupeople.com

#### Telugu Cultural Association of Houston

TCAH is purely a cultural organisation serving the Telugu speaking or Telugu loving community in and around Houston. TCAH wants to promote Telugu culture and increase the awareness of the rich culture

#### Arizona Telugu Association

Welcome to Arizona Telugu Association, a non-profit organisation bringing Telugu speaking people of Arizona together. We will be adding content and events periodically to keep the community up-to-date

#### Telugu Association of Central Ohio - TACO

Telugu Association of Central Ohio was formed with a single mission of uniting Telugu people of central Ohio. It organises programs related to Telugu culture and celebrates all major Indian festivals.

#### San Diego Telugu Association

Welcome to San Diego Telugu Association Home page! San Diego Telugu Association is a non-profit organization registered in the state of California

#### Telugu Association of North America - TANA

Telugu Association of North America (TANA) is an organization of people of Telugu origin residing in North America. TANA was formed to preserve and propagate the Telugu cultural heritage and maintain

#### American Telugu Association - ATA

ATA is a national non-profit organization to serve the people of Telugu origin in the North America, irrespective of their caste or religion.

# Telugu Association of Greater Boston

TAGB promotes and propagates Telugu culture by conducting quality cultural programmes, literary events, organising get-togethers, picnics and screening Telugu movies.

# Telugu Fine Arts Society, New Jersey

New Jersey Telugu Kala Samiti, a well known Fine Arts Society outside Andhra Pradesh. Dedicated to Promote Telugu Culture and Heritage since 1984

#### Telugu Association of South Carolina

Telugu Association of South Carolina, USA co-ordinates activities like Telugu Badi, pujas, Picnics, screening of Telugu movies, organising Ugadi and Deepavali functions.

#### Telugu Association of Greater Kansas City (TAGKC)

TAGKC has taken upon the task of uniting Telugus in Kansas City. It is a non-profit organization that organises numerous Cultural Events in and around Kansas City.

#### Telugu Association of Metro Atlanta

Official website of TAMA, Telugu Association of Metro Atlanta. TAMA started with a simple beginning in 1980 and took a formal shape in 1982. The purpose of the TAMA is to preserve and promote the cultural, educational and literary traditions of the Telugu.

#### Triangle Area Telugu Association

Triangle Area Telugu Association (TATA) is a Raleigh, N.C., USA based non-registered non-profit organization which promotes Telugu culture and language in the triangle area. Our aim in publishing this web site is to provide you with upto date inform

#### Telugu Association of North Texas - TANTEX

A non profit, non religious organization for people from Andhra Pradesh, India.

#### Tri-State Telugu Association

A Chicago, USA, based Telugu Association.

#### Bay Area Telugu Association (BATA)

Bay Area Telugu Association is a non-profit organization devoted to the awareness and promotion of Telugu Culture in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area. Bay Area Telugu Association is formed in 1973 and is one of the oldest Telugu Associations in North America.

Greater Washington Telugu Cultural Society
Knoxville Telugu Association
Telugu Association of Greater Chicago
Telugu Association of Greater Delaware Valley
Austin Telugu Association

# Transnational Networks among the Punjabi and Gujarati Diasporas in the USA

Ajaya Kumar Sahoo and Chandrashekhar Bhat

#### Introduction

The early usage of immigrants whose meanings are conceptualised in terms of dispersion from one place to another, permanent settlement in host society by adopting new languages, culture and life styles even though its painful, sometimes objectionable, had no longer retain today. Immigrants are not only closely linked with the motherland but also the members of their community in other countries. Their life and networks go beyond the boundaries of one or more nation-states.

The concept 'Diaspora'<sup>15</sup> and 'transnationalism' has wider connotation today within the interdisciplinary study such as anthropology, sociology, geography and international migration. There is considerable literature on the concept of transnationalism available today (see Portes, 1997; Guarnizo, 1996; Basch et al., 1994; Faist, 1999; Vertovec, 1999; Foner, 1997). Linda Basch et al. (1994: 4) for example, defined transnationalism as the processes by which "...immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement". Through constant mobility of people, labour, resources and cultural commodities, immigrants now actively construct 'transnational social field' that extends beyond the single location, forming a kind of social field in which they maintain familial, economic, political and cultural ties.

Transnational community generally refers to migrant communities, living in countries other than the countries of their origin, but maintain economic, political, social and emotional ties

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The term 'Diaspora' is derived from the Greek word *dia*, meaning 'through', and *speiro*, meaning 'scatters'. The Collins Dictionary of Sociology (1995), defines it as the "...situation of any group of people dispersed, whether forcibly or voluntarily, throughout the world, referring particularly to the Jewish experience".

with their homeland and with other diasporic communities of the same origin. Formation of such transnational community follows the more general processes of globalisation and deterritorialisation in the contemporary world (Wahlbeck 1998: 3). For example, modern means of cheaper and more efficient modes of communication and transportation technology today have allowed immigrants to maintain transnational relationships with their homeland as well as their community settled in other countries.

To call a community as 'transnational', it should have certain characteristics. These characteristics include the community's presence in two or more countries, and the *transnational networks* they have with their kith and kin, and also with their countries of origin. Transnational networks extend beyond the motherland to include countries wherever members of their community are present. In diasporic network, the immigrants are involved in a two-way relationship i.e., with the countries of their origin and with their present location, where as in the transnational network their relationships go beyond the two-way process, involving two or more nation states.

The above-described process is examined here with illustrating the case of Punjabis and Gujaratis in the USA. Among the Indian Diaspora, Punjabis and Gujaratis have formed extensive networks with the members of their community in several countries and promote their unique regional culture. They maintain group cohesiveness and build networks in order to capitalise the socioeconomic positions in the host society. Formation of global associations is an important part of this process. These associations promote *ethnic identity* on the basis of regional, religious or caste and mobilise capital, labour and other resources to articulate further these networks.

# **Background**

Among the Indians in the USA, Punjabis have the distinction of being numerically the largest group of immigrants besides their early presence. Gujaratis are another significant groups who have the distinction of being a highly organised entrepreneurial ethnic group<sup>16</sup>. Indian immigrants though started migrating to other parts of the world since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, their immigration to North America, in considerable numbers, began only after India's independence.

After World War II, the USA immigration restrictions were gradually liberalised. Besides the Sikhs from Punjab, Hindus from Gujarat, and Oriyas from Orissa (especially the students) and the Telugus from Andhra Pradesh immigrated to the USA. In the multicultural society of USA, Indians constitute significant proportion of the total immigrants and they emerged to be the middle class, welleducated 'visible' minority that enjoyed much higher level of acceptance than the other immigrants in the USA. The common bond that brings Indians together in the USA is their zeal to preserve and maintain their cultural identity and promotion of common interest in an alien society. Despite the distance, the age-old traditions such as religious beliefs and rituals, customs, festivals and cultural expressions and performing arts have remained central to the life and identity of Indian immigrants in the USA. They also exhibit a strong desire to pass on these values and culture to the next generation to make them appreciate their cultural roots.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In 2000 census of United States, Indian Americans constitute 0.6% of the US population with numbering 1,678,765. And the total Asian American constitutes 3.6% of the US population with numbering 10,242,998 (for further detail see web page: <a href="http://www.iacfpa.org/iapop.htm">http://www.iacfpa.org/iapop.htm</a>).

# Punjabi Diaspora

The Punjabis settled abroad migrated from 'Punjab' region situated in the northwest of India, and they speak 'Punjabi' as their mother tongue. The majority population of Punjab i.e., 60 per cent follows Sikhism, a faith originated from the teachings of Guru Nanak. The largest minority in Punjab is Hindus, followed by Muslims, Buddhists, Christian and Jains. Today Punjabis are dispersed worldwide, especially to countries like the USA, Canada, United Kingdom and other European and Southeast Asian countries.

# History of Emigration

It is worthwhile to note that migration of Punjabis to the outer world began after 1840s, as a result of the profound changes that took place in the economy of the state<sup>17</sup> as well as due to the expanding communication facilities<sup>18</sup>. The Punjabi peasants *especially* during that time were compelled to out-migrate under two major developments such as the new economic and social force unleashed by the commercialisation of agriculture and the new legal administrative system introduced by the British administration (Sood, 1995: 30).

During the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Punjab entered the orbit of colonial labour migration (Tatla, 1999: 46). When the British recruited labour for Ugandan railway project, Punjabis were given the preference. The migration of Punjabi's to East African countries gained momentum during the end of the nineteenth century, when

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> As a result of development of Canal Irrigation facilities Punjab became the major wheat-producing region during that time, even they could able to export their wheat to Great Britain. As an agrarian appendage to the imperialist market economy it has seen major social, economic changes in the state.

<sup>18</sup> Between 1873 to 1903 Punjab's rail system expanded from 400 miles to over 3,000 miles, which further facilitated their willingness to venture abroad (Tatla, 1999: 43).

several thousand craftsmen, primarily Ramgarhia Sikhs from Julandhar region, were recruited to work on the railway construction under indentured system. After the construction work was over only a few workers returned home while the majority stayed there to further work for the railway.

If we look at the history of Punjabi migration, the Sikhs<sup>19</sup> constitute the majority in comparison with all other groups from Punjab. They have shown great interest in venturing aboard and have "...established communities as far away as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States, Kenya, Fiji, Uganda, Malaysia and other countries" (Helweg, 1979: 20). By virtue of their solidarity, they are successful not only in Punjab but also in the countries where they have settled. It is estimated that there are about 16 million Punjabis living all around the globe. The history of migration of Punjabis can broadly be divided into two phases: colonial and postcolonial migration.

# **Colonial Migration**

During colonial period Punjabis migrated to the colonies of British Empire, Australia, East Africa, North America, UK and other European countries. There are numerous factors - both push and pull - which gave rise to large-scale migration of Punjabis from Punjab. The push factors included shortage of industrial jobs, high rate of land revenue, rural indebtedness, increasing population and the consequent land hunger (Verma, 1995: 22). On the other hand, pull factors such as high demand for labour in the colonies, job

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The Sikhs are a religious community originated from the homeland Punjab. They are a very close-knit homogeneous and coherent group marked off by their distinctive symbols of beard and turban, not only from all other members in Punjab but also in the diasporas. They are committed to cooperation, both politically and economically as well as religious and spiritual context (Ballard, 1996: 88).

opportunities, and the depiction tempting with the poor the prospects of "rags to riches" in the British and other colonies have provided the background for migration.

The second phase of migration took place between 1920-1929 during which Punjabi skilled workers migrated to Kenya. They were employed in the railways and the security forces. As a result of the great demand for labour (because of their excellent record of service in the Sikh regiments in India) there is a steep increase in the number of Punjabi migrants. But when East African countries gained independence, most of them were forced out of these countries. They preferred to migrate to UK, the USA, Canada and other European countries wherever they are accepted, instead of returning back to India. They are called 'twice migrants', because of the two crucial migrations they had to undertake in their life. First they had to leave Punjab during the early part of the twentieth century as indentured labour to build the Kenya-Uganda railway and then again to the UK and other developed countries as victims of postindependence Africanisation policies. During 1930s, a different type of migration started amongst Punjabis, in response to business opportunities available in Burma, England, Thailand, and Hong Kong (Ballard, 1996: 94).

# **Post-Colonial Migration**

The opening of the opportunities in the west simultaneously with the partition of India had great setback to Punjab, uprooting many Punjabis to overseas. The partition of India in 1947 was followed by mass migration in the history of Punjab. It encouraged both internal as well as international migration. The political turmoil in India during that time pushed millions of Sikhs to cross the Indian Ocean.

The post-independence migration of Punjabis has shown a different character as many of them were professionals and skilled workers such as doctors, teachers, and engineers, and their destination included developed countries like the USA, Canada and Australia. In case of the USA and Canada, migration of Punjabis sharply increased when both the countries liberalised their policies on Asian immigration in 1965. The United States, Canada and UK constitute as the preferred, prestigious countries of destination of Punjabis.

The magnitude of migration of Punjabis was at its peak during the period between 1960 to 1980. But it gradually declines almost to a halt in the early part of 1980s. In the 1980's Punjab witnessed the unprecedented political mobilisation to establish 'Khalistan', which culminated in the army action at the Golden Temple. The assassination of the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984 followed the incidence of violence against the Sikhs in many states including the capital, which compelled many Punjabis to leave their motherland.

Currently almost a million Punjabis are living abroad. The total population of Sikhs around the world, estimated by Darshan Singh Tatla (1999: 42), is given in the table below:

Total Sikh Population Around the World

Country	Period	Population			
Colonial Period- 1860-1947					
Americas					
Argentina	1950s	500-1,000			
Mexico	1930	1,000-1,500			
Canada	1905-1913	7,500-10,000			
USA	1905-1913	7,500-10,000			
	1920-1947	3,000			
	East Africa				
Kenya/Uganda	1885-1950	5,000			
Tanzania	1880-1920	750			
Europe					
UK	1930-1947	1,500			
	Far East				
Australia	1890-1910	1,500-2,500			
Fiji	1890-1910	200-500			
Hong Kong	1900-1940	10,000-5,000			
Malaya States	1865-1940	30,000-35,000			
New Zealand	1890-1910	200-382			
Philippines	1910-1930	4,000-2,500			
Thailand	1920-1940	2,500-5,000			
Indonesia	1880-1940	3,000-6,000			
Middle East					
Afghanistan	1900-1930	2,000-2,500			
Postcolonial period- 1947-90					
Americas					
Canada	1960-1990	147,440			
USA	1960-1990	125,000			

Europe					
United Kingdom	1960-1990	400,000-500,000			
Germany	1960-1980	2,500			
Far East					
Australia	1950-1970	2,500			
New Zealand	1950-1980	2,500			
Singapore	1940-1950	32,000			
Middle East					
Abu Dubai	1970-1980	7,500-10,000			
Iraq	1970-1980	5,000-7,500			
Total Population Estimated		1,00,0000			

Now in the threshold of 21st century Punjabis could be found in every nook and corner of the world and they have entered into every sphere of life. In comparison to the pre-independence period where the emigration was directed towards Caribbean and East Africa, the post-independence migration has shifted towards Europe, South East Asia, Italy and North America. Whereas most of the parents of first generation could be seen as working class, who moved into manual occupations on arrival, their aspirations for their children were much higher than those of their normal peers amongst the indigenous working class (Ballard, ibid.: 104). The younger generation now has made substantial shift towards skilled, professional, small-scale business and entrepreneurial vocations.

# Punjabi Diaspora in the USA

Punjabis were the first South Asians to migrate to North America, which began in 1803. Between 1903 and 1908, about 6,000 Punjabis entered North America (Canada) and nearly 3,000 crossed into the United States (Kang, 2002). They can be easily distinguished from

other South Asian Indians from their cultural specificity including the style of dress and physical appearance. Besides being the first Indian immigrants to enter the USA, Punjabis enjoy a vibrant community life today when compared to other Indians in the USA. The Punjabi ethnic consciousness in the USA has two levels, viz. firstly, all Punjabis share common status of an immigrant community with other South Asians and secondly, it exhibits distinct behaviour patterns from others. Today the satellite communication revolution and the popularisation of Public Call Offices in India - during 1980s - have made it possible for the quickest communication between the USA and India. This has facilitated further links of immigrants with the families back home in Punjab and their ties have been restrengthened.

Most of the Punjabi immigrants in the USA have immense interest in the advancement of their kith and kin at their places of origin. They send remittances to the families back home to buy land and other properties. They also intervene in the decision making process of the family. They encourage children of their relatives to get higher education and also facilitate their immigration. Punjabis, like other South Asians, show a great degree of community cohesiveness. They visit each other, attend ceremonies, attend Gurdwara services and take community lunch programmes besides associations and organisations to promote the interest of community as a whole.

## Transnational Networks

The Punjabi diaspora today maintained strong social networks with the kith and kin around the world as well as with their relative's back home in Punjab. They have established cohesive socio-cultural, economic, religious and political networks among all Punjabis around

the globe. These linkages and networks are manifested through sending remittances, involvement in various national and international associations, visiting homeland for manifold reasons. The process of maintaining these networks is facilitated by the spectacular progress in global media and communication technology.

With the help of Internet, web and news groups, and the interactive communication through email, the diasporic Punjabis form today what may be described as the 'transnational imagined community'. The transnational linkages among Punjabis can be discussed at two levels: the linkages between the diasporic Punjabis and the relatives back home in Punjab and the transnational networks among Punjabis all over the globe.

#### Socio-economic Networks

The Punjabi diaspora's interrelationship with Punjab can be understood in terms of social, economic, cultural, religious and political networks. From economic point of view, Punjabi immigrants today remitted a high proportion of their earnings to support their families back home so also to improve the economy of the home state. They invest their remittances in the form of "...establishing industries, factories, and buying land and transport companies in most of the major towns in Punjab such as Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Chandigarh and other towns" (Tatla, ibid.: 63). They also contribute many of their remittances for the development of charities, hospitals and educational centres in Punjab.

Punjabis also uphold their social network through family ties and kinship obligations, marriage ceremonies and other ritual activities. The kinship ties are kept alive through frequent visits to homeland on various occasions. As pointed out by Angelo (1997: 118) that, "...the frequency of social contacts exchanged through home visitations, some times more than twice a month and occasional home visits".

Marriage is an important institution among Punjabis in sustaining the ethnic bond. One of its important roles is to create positive self-image through arranged marriages in which region, religion and caste identities are maintained and perpetuated. From religious point of view it is regarded as indissoluble. The Punjabis choose their marriage partners not only in their respective place of residence but from the homeland and other countries. Roger Ballard (2000: 14) mentioned that, "...most of the settlers abroad preferred to arrange a 'Riste' back home in Punjab, partly because of the very limited degree of choice available (given the restriction of marriage rules) within most localised ethnic colonies". In comparison with the early period where marriage took place within the local context, it has now become global, reaching out to Singapore, Kenya, Hong Kong and North America. Further marriage has become truly transnational due to the status such marriages have acquired. As Ballard (ibid.: 16) points out, British based Punjabis choose a "... Riste from a family of an appropriate status, who have established themselves in California or Vancouver is at least attractive as one from elsewhere in England, in comparison with which accepting a match an Indian-based family is - other things being equal - a very poor third". Further the matrimonial advertisements, which are available in the newspapers and in the Internet, make easier for searching the marriage partners. For example, 'punjabimarriage.com' is the web site, which provide a site for matrimonial ads for the Punjabi and Sikh community around the world. The extensive database in this covers Punjabis in India, Pakistan and other countries of the world. In choosing partners, consideration of castes still continues to play a significant role.

#### Cultural Networks

Culture is an abstract symbolic system, which is composed of values, meanings and beliefs. The culture of Punjab is best reflected in the folklore, ballads of love and war, fairs and festivals, dance music, and literature. The rich cultural heritage, common language and a strong sense of being Punjabi bind the Punjabis together. Dances like 'Bhangra', 20 which is a popular dance form of Punjab is now performed transnationally. The Bhangra groups performed the live concerts not only in India but all around the globe. For example, during the last two decades there were several Bhangra groups crossed the Atlantic to interact and provide entertainment to the Punjabis in the diaspora. Some of these Bhangra groups participated in the 1st International Sports and Cultural Festival organised by the South Asians in Vancouver. Many Bhangra teams also participated in the International festivals in England in 1982 and in Punjab in 1983 and presented their performances. The Punjabi diaspora experience a sense of nostalgia while such groups perform the familiar dance, as they (Bhangra dancers) depict the conditions of Punjabis abroad and their struggles in new lands for honour and livelihood. The Bhangra dance is now so popular that the lovers of Bhangra group organised the international Bhangra Mela-competition in the year 2000 where several Bhangra groups came from all over the world and congregated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Bhangra is a folk dance that has its roots in the region of Punjab. Bhangra began as a dance to celebrate the harvest and was usually performed at the time of Baisakhi (the harvest festival). It was traditionally the domain of males, though today it is open to dancers of both sexes. It is an energetic dance involving vigorous movements of the shoulder and hips. The accompaniment is in the form of singing, clapping and the beat of the drum. The main instrument is called the dhol. A drum roll often marks the end of each line of the song and the last line is repeated by the dancers like a chorus. Dancers often form a circle with pairs of dancers periodically taking centrestage to give solo performances that showcase their prowess, virility and acrobatic ability. Getting into the festive mood, dancers often punctuate each beat with an exuberant shout and may even be moved to recite witty couplets.

Another dimension of the culture of Punjab is the famous sport of 'Kabaddi', which is now a transnational event. Kabaddi matches are not only organised in Punjab but also in far away countries such as the USA, Canada and Britain where teams from Punjab, England, Canada and Pakistan have taken part in the tournaments. The news regarding the international matches spreads through letters, Internet and newspapers across the frontier.

#### **Communication Networks**

The transnational networks among Punjabis have become stronger following the development of media, Internet, television, radio and other faster means of communication. Punjabi media consisting of weekly newspapers, monthly and quarterly magazines also play a significant role in informing overseas Punjabis about their homeland (Tatla, ibid.: 71). For example, today 'Des Pradesh' a monthly magazine is in largest circulation among the Punjabi diaspora. Similarly 'The Gadr' lunched from San Francisco is also very popular. It is circulated among the Punjabi diaspora in countries like Canada, the Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Malaysia and Singapore.

The transnational television and radio channels also provide information and entertainment to the Punjabis around the globe. There are several transnational TV and Radio channels such as Punjabi Radio, Netguruindia, TV India, Live 365.com, Punjabi+many, AM1320 Vancouver, Multicultural Radio Punjabi Saturday, Montreal Canada, Radio Sikh-info Daily Kukamnama etc., provide information to Punjabis in the diaspora.

Recently Zee TV has lunched its 'Zee Alpha TV" Punjabi Channel for Punjabis living abroad. This is a 24-hour channel, which

would use satellite AsiaSat3s and foot printers covering West Asia, Africa, and Australia apart from India. This channel would reach all Punjabis across the world. Another 24-hour exclusive Punjabi channel from Doordarshan has also been lunched in August 6<sup>th</sup> 2001. These satellite channels take images of Punjab and Punjabis to Punjabi diaspora spread over different parts of the world.

The revolution in the field of communication technology has really made easier for Punjabis to maintain the transnational networks with the relatives and business partners in the overseas as well as back home in Punjab. There are hundreds of web sites, which provide information and news to Punjabis about Punjab and Punjabis around the globe. Take for instance, *Punjabi.net* is a web site created for all Punjabis who were living around the globe. The purpose of this site is to spread the significance of Punjabi way of life around the globe. Through such networks with their communities, the Punjabis built their unbreakable tradition of unity and hard work. Another instance is the website '*Global Punjabi Web*' is striving to unite all Punjabis around the world without any bias towards caste, class and religion.

It is worthwhile to say that in this age of globalisation and information technology Punjabis are successful in maintaining socio-cultural, economic and political networks with the fellow Punjabis around the world as well as with the homeland Punjab. Further the networks between the Punjabi diaspora and the motherland are getting stronger with the effort of the Punjab State Government, which provides official channel for further extending the transnational linkages.

# Gujarati Diaspora

Migration of Gujaratis from Gujarat mostly occurred during the end of the 19th century and early part of 20th century, particularly to East Africa, the Middle East and later to various destinations in the West. The merchants from Gujarat had been involved in overseas trade in spices, ivory and textiles especially in East Africa for almost millennia. But the 19th century industrialisation has brought major consequences on the socio-economic fabric of Gujarat. Traditional caste occupations were abandoned in favour of more lucrative alternatives. People from all backgrounds began to move away from their state to nearby towns and cities. Many of them crossed the national boundaries too.

Moreover, the pressure to emigrate was also fuelled by the conditions in Gujarat itself. Plague struck in 1899-1902 and again in 1916-18, an influenza epidemic raged in 1918-19 and there was famine in 1899-1900. There were also the perennial problems of land shortage and employment, exacerbated by the decline of local textile industry (Ballard, ibid. 179-80). Around the same time a lot of economic and commercial opportunities opened up in East African countries, new cities built up along with the railway in the areas such as Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu in Kenya, and Kampala, Jinja and Tororo in Uganda. As a result, many Gujaratis migrated to Uganda, Fiji, Zambia, Kenya, Malawi, and Zanzibar. (ibid. 179). Today they form the largest group among the Indian communities in East African countries. Bharati (1965: 17) points out that, in East Africa "...majority of East Indians are now the Gujarati-speaking Hindus, they form roughly 70 percent of the total Asian population".

When the East African countries initiated the process of Africanisation during the 1960's and 70's, Indian communities particularly the Gujarati's came under ever-increasing pressure by the upwardly mobile local Africans and were forced to leave these countries (Patel and Rutten, 2000: 5). During this crucial juncture some of them decided to return to India but majority choose to settle down in the UK, the USA and other European countries under the designation of "twice migrants" (Ballard, ibid. 23). Kuepper et al., (1975: 9) points out that during this period "...millions of Asians<sup>21</sup> were physically removed from Africa and transferred to the Americas, which was attributed with producing one of history's largest intercontinental migrations".

With the opening up of the global economies, Gujaratis have made remarkable presence in the USA, UK, U.A.E, Canada and other countries. Many Gujaratis moved to USA at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Today Patidars form the largest group among the Gujaratis in the diaspora. They are identified by the popular surname Patel followed by the Lohanas of Saurastra origin, who are commonly referred to as Banias. In many countries such as the USA, UK, Canada and Caribbean, where the Gujaratis have made a name, they are generally regarded as the most affluent and successful South Asian settlers (Hotel-Motel business is the special characteristics of Gujaratis in UK, the USA and other countries). They are not only in business, which is their first love, but also in professional fields such as technology, science, medicine, and business management.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Asians here implies the Indian communities as used by Kuepper and others in the book (ed.) "Ugandan Asian in Great Britain". It deals with the detail description of the history of Asian Indian in Uganda and other African countries. The author notably pointed out the crisis which was erupted in the process of Africanisation during the 60's and 70' and how the Asians were absorbed into the Great Britain and other European countries particularly in USA. The book also deals with the ethnic Indian communities such as Gujaratis, Sikhs, Ismalis, Goans and their experience of slave trade and other socio-economic frontlines.

According to P.K. Pujari, (secretary in the department of Non Resident Gujaratis) there could be 2.5 crore Gujaratis in foreign countries, though unofficial estimates put the figure of 4 crore (India Times, June 20, 2000).

# **Population**

Country	1990	1995	2000
Bangladesh	54,100	60,200	67,000
Iran	23,600	26,900	29,900
Kenya	97,800	117,000	134,900
Madagascar	40,200	47,200	55,200
Malawi	27,800	33,100	36,100
Malaysia	17,900	20,100	22,300
Mozambique	14,200	16,000	19,000
Myanmar	29,300	32,600	36,100
Tanzania	187,200	217,700	249,100
Uganda	164,600	195,300	225,700
Zambia	14,000	16,200	18,400
United States			150,000
United Kingdom			500,000
Total	670,700	782,300	15,43,700

Source: Statistics .The Diaspora Gujarati Cluster: Latest estimates from the world Evangelisation Research Centre: http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/; http://news.bbc.co.uk/ http://www.littleindia.com/

# Gujarati Diapsora in the USA

Today we find Gujaratis scattered in almost all countries of the world, along with their distinctive characteristics. This distinctiveness is in the form of language and culture, which are inseparable parts of socialisation among the overseas Gujaratis. Despite the influence of the western culture the succeeding generations of Gujaratis have retained their traditional way of life. They celebrate all festivals to remain close to the tradition of their ancestral homeland. The Gujaratis in the USA constitute 20 percent of the Indian American Population<sup>22</sup>. They are not only success in retail business but also in diamond industry and motel industry in the USA. One reason for the proliferation of the Gujaratis in America is their strong sense of family unity.

### Transnational Networks

The relation that the Gujaratis maintain with the country of their origin is not only a matter of memories but it has been an ongoing and continuous relationship. These transnational relations among Gujaratis can be broadly divided into two categories, i.e., micro and macro linkages. Micro level linkages are more personalised and informal in nature. The Gujaratis continue to keep in touch with friends and relatives in Gujarat and elsewhere. Their personal linkages are maintained through telephone calls, letters, Internet and personal visits. As a result, the Gujaratis living in most part of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Gujaratis constitute almost 400,000 of the total Indian population in the United States, and out of that at least a 140,000 have the surname of Patel (though the total Indian population in the USA is 1 percent (Lavina Melwani, 2002). Holocaust in the African countries refers to the exercise of racial demagoguery against Asians during 1960s and 1970s, where thousands of Asians, mostly from the Indian Sub-Continent, were driven out of East and Central Africa through a host of racist policies. After decolonisation, thousands of Asians were denied nationality in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi and Zambia. They were stripped of government jobs through enactment of laws, which were the main instruments to localise or Africanised the key areas of economic and government activity.

the world are able to maintain social relations with fellow Gujaratis in their homeland and other countries. This closeness has emerged to be stronger as a result of advancement in the field of communication technology. In contrast to the ex-indentured immigrants, Gujarati immigrants in the contemporary period have been able to maintain extensive ties both at social and economic level. These ties are manifested in the form of marriage arrangements, kinship networks, remittances and religious affiliation, etc.

The second type of transnational linkages are the macro level linkages, which are manifested in institutional, organisational and associational basis between diaspora and the mother country as well as among the diaspora community members from different countries. There are numerous socio-economic and political networks maintained between the diaspora and Gujarat. Although the Gujaratis have been living in most parts of the world for the past 150 years, it is only recently that they closely interact among themselves and also with the mother country. The new migrants who maintain Indian citizenship, called Resident Non-Indians (RNIs)<sup>23</sup>, have developed a special relationship with the government of India. The government has given special privileges in encouraging them to invest in India. Today the NRIs mobilise a substantial amount of foreign exchange for the country. Recently the government has gone further to fascilitate interaction with the People of Indian Origins (PIOs) through the introduction of PIO card that entitles them to visit India freely without any visa requirement. The government of Gujarat in this regard has established Non Resident Gujarati Foundation (NRG) in 1998. It has lunched many schemes for NRGs not only to attract investment in their home state but also to establish better communication with them. For instance, the recent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The alternative term which is widely used for the Resident Non-Indians (RNI) now is Non-resident Indians (NRI).

World Gujarat Meet held at Vadodara on January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1999 had attracted NRGs from many parts of the world, such as Uganda, New Zealand, the United States, the United Kingdom, UAE, Australia and South Africa. The purpose of that meeting was to establish a socio-cultural connection as distinct from a financial tie-up with the native land (Indian Express, Jan 4 1999).

Some of the schemes initiated by the Government of Gujarat became very attractive in terms of their returns and the NRIs began to utilise them. They are investing in NRI bank accounts and in real estate. They bought properties such as flats or houses, mostly in cities like Anand, Vidyanagar and Ahmedabad and other major cities. Very few of them have invested in business or industry.

Besides the network through social and cultural spheres, Gujaratis also maintained their strong networks with the help of the international associations and organisations. There are considerable number of Gujaratis living in the countries like the USA, UK, Canada and East Africa. They have formed their institutions and associations in order to look after their fellow Gujaratis in the local context and to pursue interactions with other Gujaratis all over the world. The Gujarat Samaj in New York for example, is the oldest Gujarati organization established in 1974, which has 2500 family members. There are Gujarat Samajs in various states of the USA, including Illinois, California, Texas, North Carolina, New Jersey and Connecticut. Whenever and wherever crisis takes place the Gujaratis come together for resolving the crisis. For example, the Holocaust' and crisis in the African countries such as Uganda, Middle East and

Holocaust in the African countries refers to the exercise of racial demagoguery against Asians during 1960s and 1970s, where thousands of Asians, mostly from the Indian Sub-Continent, were driven out of East and Central Africa through a host of racist policies. After decolonisation, thousands of Asians were denied nationality in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi and Zambia. They were stripped of government jobs through enactment of laws, which were the main instruments to localise or Africanised the key areas of economic and government activity.

Fiji have engaged every Gujarati's concern for the other. Another instance is that of the unprecedented earthquake of January 2001 which has brought together Gujaratis all over the world. They mobilised men and materials for immediate and long-term recovery from the massive damage. In order to rebuild the economy and infrastructure they have raised funds from personal to organisational levels. There are many organisations, which responded with their support, both human and material, to restore and rebuild Gujarat. For instance, the American India Foundation, which is a well established foundation in the USA, succeeded in persuading the former president Mr. Bill Clinton to visit Gujarat for promoting the cause of Gujaratis in their relief and rehabilitation programme. The foundation has also raised \$150 million through various programmes. The Viswa Gujarati Samaj<sup>24</sup> one of the leading non-governmental associations has also expressed its gratitude to the world for their services to Gujaratis and Gujarat during the period of crisis following the earthquake.

#### **Cultural Networks**

Gujarat has a rich tradition of performing arts and customs. 'Dhandhya' for instance a folk dance with *sticks* and *Garba* are popular among the Gujarati youths in India and abroad. Originally Dhandhya was performed by rural folk, but it is brought to city life by remixing the pulse of disco, hip-hop, reggae, funk, Hindi film music, and other African, American and Caribbean popular music. These fused styles are exported from London, the USA, and West Indies to India, and are captured in Hindi films, played at wedding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The 'Viswa Gujarati Samaj' came into being in 1980. It is a broad-based social and cultural organisation connecting Gujaratis throughout the world. The main objective of the Samaj is to see that, the Gujaratis abroad are not alienated, disconnected from their homeland and roots of culture from Gujarat (Tribune India Oct 9 2000).

receptions, dance parties, and community celebrations. There are some special occasions on which these cultural programmes are performed. For instance, during 'Navratri' - a nine night religious ceremony to worship Goddess Durga - Dhandhya dance is a major attraction and people from all backgrounds dance together. Another dance form is 'Bhangra'. Though it is a Punjabi dance, Gujaratis perform it both in Gujarat and in most parts of the Gujarati diasporas. FOGANA<sup>25</sup> is another form of cultural symbols of Gujaratis in the USA.

Television also plays an important role in sustaining transnational linkages among the ethnic groups. For instance, a 24 hour Gujarati language TV channel is soon going to be lunched from the Zee Television called 'Alpha TV Gujarati', which will present a blend of entertainment, news and culture to ethnic Gujarati viewers across the world. The Gujarati community in the USA has three newspapers, Gujarat Samachar from India, Sandesh published from Chicago and Gujarat Times from New York.

# **Religious Networks**

Gujarat is known for the origin and development of two major sects among the Hindus. First, the followers of Swaminarayan and, secondly the followers of Vallabhacharya, known as Pustimarg. A large proportion of Hindu emigrants from Gujarat has been involved in one or the other of these groups (Ballard, ibid. 165-66).

The Swaminarayan Sampradaya is a sect of Hinduism that has been established for approximately two centuries. The founder of this sect was Lord Shree Swaminarayan. The sect has already made

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> FOGANA was founded in the year 1980, an abbreviation for The Federation of Gujarati Associations of North America.

inroads in the worldwide Gujarati diaspora and is now expanding rapidly. The followers of Swaminarayan have been divided into four main subsects such as Brahmacharis, Sadhus, Palas and, finally, the Satsangis.<sup>26</sup>

The followers of Vallabhacharya on the other hand are called 'Prajapatis'. It is believed that the Prajapatis are the worshipers of Lord Shiva and have Vedic root. They believe that the daughter of Daksha Prajapati was married to Lord Shiva, who was respected by all 'Devas'. The Prajapatis have strong sense of belonging to their community, which they call 'Prajapati Samaj'. Through this Prajapati Samaj they preserve their Vedic roots, customs and traditions over generations. Presently there are about 2.8 million Prajapatis in the world and they interacted with each other through newsletters and other modes of communication including Internet.

With a view to reach all Prajapatis around the world, Prajapati Samaj has established 'Prajapati Vishva Ashram' in 1998. The main aim of this Ashram is to enable all Prajapatis from different parts of the world to interact with each other. They have also established websites to facilitate their communication and interaction on worldwide basis. The interactions could be at individual, group or community levels. The Prajapati Vishva Ashram encourages all Prajapatis to volunteer to work for their Samaj wherever they reside. Based on the above philosophy some Prajapatis have initiated the following programs:

The web site for Prajapatis to interact with each other is www.prajapati-samaj.ca. This web site was created in 1998 January to give all Prajapatis in the world the platform to meet anytime, at anyplace to promote the goals of Prajapati Vishva Ashram. Shree

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See web page <www.shreeswaminarayan.org.uk>)

Bhavin Champaklal Mistry of Edmonton, Alborta, Canada, has spearheaded the initiative as webmaster. It has raised funds from Canada and USA for setting up of the computer Internet links with Gujarat. Other programmes of this web site include funding education for employable skills, Learning Vedas, Prajapati encyclopaedia etc.

# Internet Linkages

The revolution in communication technology and its impact has been even more incredible over the last four decades. The worldwide networks of online media allow much easier access, relatively at less cost, and above all, offer interactive opportunity to the dispersed people around the world. For instance, the diasporic Gujarati web sites are creating global directories of individuals, community associations, and business organisations owned by members of the diasporas. The online media help the users to reconstitute pre-migration relationships, at least in cyberspace, as well as *create 'virtual communities'* with 'communal identities'.

"Kemchoo.com", which brings all the Gujaratis together and give them the feel of the rich culture and tradition. The site also focuses on Gujaratis around the world and provides the services to the people of Gujarat. "Evishwagujarati.net" is another website which provide a platform for the Gujarati diaspora to interact with each other and link their lives, strengthen their shared heritage, deal with the problems of living in foreign countries, conduct business together and maintain stronger links with Gujarat. These sites focus broadly on four categories; a roundup of events pertaining to Gujarat and Gujaratis worldwide, the Samaj's formidable network spanning continents, culture and interaction and a Gujarat fact file.

The Gujarati overseas population of today is not as isolated from their original homeland unlike the nineteenth century indentured labourers. Developments in communication and transportation technology have made it possible to evolve cohesiveness among the Gujaratis by bridging the gap between Gujarat and the diaspora. The Gujarati migrants can now easily sustain transnational linkages with a diasporic consciousness. Undoubtedly the process of globalisation and the development of technology have had a profound impact on the social relations among the Gujarati migrants. These transnational linkages further act as significant means of expression for facilitating the multiple bridges among Gujarati diaspora and the homeland.

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# Indian | Diaspora | and | Healthcare

A Case of Corporate Hospitals in Hyderabad Sadananda Sahoo Though there is a considerable body of literature associated with the study of Diaspora in general and Indian Diaspora in particular in recent times, contributed y scholars from varied disciplines and with different perspectives, yet there are few studies on how Diaspora plays an important role in the socio, cultural and economic spheres of the sending or home countries. Countries like China, India, Pakistan and many other third world countries have a very strong relationship with their Diaspora community. Hence, the significance of the participation of these communities in the development process of these countries cannot be undermined. Moreover, in the age of globalization, the importance of this Diaspora community is more visible.

This article brings out some of the important features of the Indian Diaspora communities and their relations with the homeland. What way they have been involved with the homeland in general and in healthcare sector in particular? How do their relations with the motherland affect the socio-economic and cultural spheres in general and healthcare in particular and to what extent?

Indian Diaspora has been attracting the attention of researchers drawn from diverse discipline and also the policy makers during last fifty years of India's independence. While several studies emphasize on the nature of continuity and change among the overseas Indians, others examine the linkages between India and the Indian Diaspora in socio-cultural, economic, and political spheres. Today, the overseas Indians, especially from the developed countries, are seen as potential resources of the country owing to their success and achievements in the countries of their adoption. Those emigrants who are professionally trained and well-settled in affluent countries during the post-independence era have not only retained Indian identity but also have evinced interest in the advancement of their kith and

kin back home in India. Many have retained Indian citizenship and are generally referred as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). They have gained considerable expertise in important spheres of economic and professional life so that their contribution is eagerly sought both by their kin as well as the state.

The Indian Diaspora is not only linked with their motherland for simple economic reason, but also for socio-cultural, political and emotional reasons. Their concern is quite evident towards India with regard to India's political and economic development (Minocha, U. 1987: 366, Economic Times 1998: 18).

In the recent years the NRI remittances and investments have played an extremely important role in India's economic development at the macro-economic level. NRI deposits have helped India in averting its balance of payment crisis, carrying developmental work and international debt servicing. These Indians are beginning to bring not only capital but also technology, marketing know-how and other expertise. Quite a few Indians abroad have a large pool of investible funds. After years of building their fortunes elsewhere, NRIs are returning to become major forces in their mother country. The strength of Indian diaspora today is only about 14 million (Government of India 1996: 744), including both People of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non Resident Indians (NRIs). Their combined annual income is roughly \$ 340 billion. That is equivalent to the GDP of the entire Indian nation of 900 million (Business Week, 1995: 35).

# India and its Diaspora: The Continuing Links

Globalization brought a sea change in the world economy. There was an unprecedented mobility of labour and capital. Mobility of

skilled labor or professionals is a complex process. It is necessary for the countries like India to adopt various strategies and approaches to address it in the face of changing social, economic, political, demographic, and technological paradigms.

Twentieth century economy that was largely dependent on natural resources has now shifted to an information-dominated one driven by knowledge creation and dissemination. There is unprecedented developments in Information Technology which has opened the world of opportunities that were not even imagined a couple of years ago. Other areas which attract labour migration from third world countries to the developed countries include biotechnology, medicine, engineering etc. There is an urgent necessity for countries like India to address the brain mobility issue, which affects the socio-economic and scientific and technological development of the country. The effort to enhance the contribution of Diaspora community in nation building in general and capacity building in particular has been growing among various developing nations. The effort is also being made to meet and counteract the challenges of the brain drain. The issue is more important for India.

Diaspora communities which constitute skilled or professional labour are becoming more important for both home and settlement countries. Studies show that these Diaspora communities contribute to their mother countries (Shailendra, 1997; Surender, T. 1999; Mukerjee, N. 1999). Their contributions are not only through foreign currency remittances but serving also through visiting scholars, creating virtual networks, and generally shaping the direction of the scholarly environment and capacity building in various fields of science and technology, cultural exchange, business etc. Evidence shows that they do have stakes in the development process of their home countries (Khan, N, 1998:18; Surender, T.

There are networks of ties that professionals working abroad often maintain with their home countries. Many Taiwanese scholars and scientists living in the US, for example, have maintained ties with colleagues in Taiwan, providing them expertise. They also maintain contacts with the Western scientific community. In general they work as a means of communication. Some return home to serve as consultants or visiting professors. A few have invested money in Taiwanese high-tech and other companies. This is the same with Chinese, Indians, Thai and Africans.

Indians who have immigrated to many countries especially the US and European countries have been active in the growing software industry, medical and other professional fields. They maintain contact with colleagues at home, often investing in the Indian companies or assisting in joint ventures.

Government policies of some of the countries also actively promote and strategize the manner in which nationals contribute to their native countries. A particular case in point is Thailand that promotes brain mobility virtually—on the Internet. Under a very attractive banner on a website that reads "The Reverse Brain Drain Project," it states dual missions. Of the two missions, the "high priority" is not to "promote and facilitate the return of Thai professionals overseas to work in government agencies or in the private sector [in Thailand]." It is rather to "identify and attract experienced high-level Thai professionals living overseas to participate in mission-oriented projects, and promote development of core teams led by the respective Thai professionals." In fact, the mission explicitly acknowledges de-emphasis on the permanent return program. It should be emphasized that the primary and major objective of the

whole initiative is to make the immigrant nationals part of the nation building process without uprooting them from their bases elsewhere.

It is as late as 1990s for India to carry out some policy to attract the diaspora professional's to participate in the country's developmental process. India's strategy is quite slow which needs to be intensified. At the national level CSIR has also made significant contributions towards attracting Indian scientific talents abroad to return to the country by providing them suitable opportunities through various schemes.

CSIR has also maintained a Register of Indians trained abroad and operated a number of important schemes such as *Scientists Pool Scheme*, *Quick Hire Scheme*, *Visiting Associates Schemes*, and TOKTEN programme to harness scientific and professional knowhow through Indian experts working abroad. With the establishment of interface for Non-Resident Indian Scientists and Technologists (NRIST) Unit in CSIR, the scope for utilisation of NRI talents and expertise in India has become much wider. However, CSIR is not taking the project seriously (Khadria, Vinod: 1999).

If the main purpose and objective of reversing the brain flow is to build capacity of those countries that export and continue to export their experts—unwillingly or otherwise—the approach to moderate the flow should not therefore adopt one single strategy that predominantly leans toward repatriation. It is important to realize that skilled labor has propensities to mobility and it appears futile to attempt to control it. Even numerous Western scholars whom most of us trust as enjoying a far better autonomy and academic freedom and working and living conditions than their counterparts in the Third World, and especially Africa, crave for even more greener pastures elsewhere.

Such studies urge that the traditional discourse to manage skilled labor mobility that predominantly leans on physical movement of experts be revisited. It should be noted as well that, what at one time was a "one way street" in which Third World professionals migrated to the West, maintaining few contacts at home, has been transformed into a complex set of relationships in which emigrant professionals contribute significantly to a growing world economy and to the flow of expertise—and sometimes capital—from the industrialized nations to many Third World and newly industrialized nations (Altbach, 1991).

# Role of Indian Diaspora in an emerging market economy

Venkatesh identified four developments, which emerged in the context of the Global technology and market (Venkatesh, A. 1995: 59).

- 1. The rise of post industrial and information technologies (radical different technological environment)
- 2. It interconnected the world in unprecedented ways, giving a new meaning to the world order. This interconnectedness seems to imply the emergence of a universal language of technology that could potentially bridge cultural differences.
- 3. The ascendance of Eastern countries such as Japan, Korea and Taiwan as the producers of modern technologies and accompanying rapid diffusion of modern technologies within those countries in a non developmental, culture-specific framework. Thus, for the first time in several centuries, the sources of some new technologies are no longer located in the western hemisphere.

4. Quoting Appadurai, he says, 'countries such as India that are experiencing new levels of material success have begun to view their cultural practices in a self-conscious, self-reflective fashion without using Western yardstics of what is acceptable and not acceptable.

The roles of diaspora professionals, who have been exposed to multicultural world, have a vital role in the context of technological transformation in complex society like India. Being exposed to multicultural world, these professionals can effectively position themselves and understand the complexities of the culture, technology and the various factors affecting market.

Application of new technology, business venture in any society needs to undergo through assessment of the culture of that society. Be it medical technology, transport or agricultural equipment, it needs cultural understanding of the region. There is a wonderful observation by De Pyssler (1992) about the adoption of two-wheeler (motor scooter) in India. He provides a clear-sighted, historical analysis of the technology itself, its design, and its cross-cultural semiotics. In his analysis he found what *scooter* means to various people in different cultural settings. What is an elegant feminine icon in Italy becomes a technology of rebel (punk rock groups) in England but in India is viewed as a utilitarian family vehicle. Here he doesn't impose the cultural categories of meanings from outside but generates them from the cultural ambiance of the setting.

## Indian Diaspora: Brain Drain or Brain Bank?

Unlike the earlier immigration, the characteristics of professional immigration were purely voluntary by nature, which started in 1960s

to the industrially developed nations of Europe, North America.

The following statistics will give us an idea of the intensity of migration of brain or talents from the developing world to the developed world. 'In the 1990s, roughly 650,000 people from emerging markets migrated to the United States on professional-employment visas. Over 40 % of the foreign born adults in the U.S. have at least some college education, thereby making that the epicenter of the global talent drain. Foreign-born workers now make up 20 % of all employees in the U.S information technology sector. About 30 % of the 1998 graduating class of the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) and a staggering 80 % of the graduates in computer science headed for graduate schools or jobs in the U.S. Some 80 % of foreign doctoral students in science and engineering plan to stay there after graduation- up from 50 % in 1985. Roughly a third of the R & D professional of developing countries have left to work in the U.S. and other European countries' (Devan, J. & et al.: 2002).

Skills and talents are very significant for the development of a country. Many countries like U.S., European countries, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore etc. are in hunting mission by recruiting talented professionals from China, Malaysia, India and many other developing and underdeveloped countries to fill their requirements. U.S. itself has nearly doubled the annual quota of temporary work visas it grants to foreign professionals- to 195,000 from 115,000. Though there is a set back to IT sectors recently, yet recruitment in the other areas such as health sector is rising. Developing and retaining highly skilled professionals is therefore a crucial long-term investment for any country, which many developing countries such as China have realized earlier than India.

The major question arises here: Can the Indian Diaspora play the role in India that Overseas Chinese have played in China? i. e. in socio-economic and technological development in China. Can Indian executives influence the Western corporations to play a major economic role in the country? The present paper tries to address some of these queries taking the case of Diaspora doctors in the corporate hospitals.

Many countries have formulated their strategy how to retain their talents through various schemes. Taiwan prompted many expatriates to return by building a market-oriented economy-coupled with initiatives such as the creation of a venture capital industry and investments in research and education. South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA) has created a detailed database of skills and talents, which can be utilized for them during the time of need. Thailand has also taken a very wonderful initiative by creating a database of Thailand's Reverse Brain Drain project (RBD), which not only facilitates the utilization of the skills and money of the expatriates but also benefits each other. The RBD project encourages Thai scientists and their counterparts abroad to involve in the country's various R & D projects.

There is a quite different story, which China is experiencing over time with the interaction of their Diaspora. 'Powered by a diaspora brimming with wealth and entrepreneurial spirit, China long ago left India behind on the road from socialist basket case to economic power' (Far Eastern Economic Review 2000: 38).

Though not the same degree of involvement as in case of Chinese Diaspora, Indian diaspora involvement is also significant in some area. Far Eastern Economic Review (2000) had a report on Indian businessmen who have made it big in Sillicon Vally are bringing their riches and expertise back home, fuelling growth in India's IT industry. Annalee Saxenian, a professor at the University of California observes 'there is a sense of giving back among the Indians abroad'.

He further says 'there's a certain amount of guilt associated with leaving India and then succeeding beyond any one's imagination' (Ibid: 38).

Members of the Indian Diaspora have been responsible for about a third of total foreign investment in India since the country's liberalization began. On the other hand, Indians working in multinational companies in U.S., and Europe in particular are influencing the decision to invest in India.

Indians have become successful in several professional fields abroad. Indian Doctors are considered to be the best in US according to survey (Times of India: 2002:11). Some of the Indians like Rajat Gupta, who is a managing partner of the prestigious consulting firm McKinsey & Co. In December Citicorp appointed Victor Menezes, 46, Chief Financial Officer of the \$257 billion global bank. The large number of doctors, engineers and executives has meant that the median family income for Indians in the U.S.—\$53,000 p.a., according to the 1990 census—was higher than that for native-born Americans.

Some of the success story of Indian diaspora in India's developmental activities can't be ignored. In the hospital sectors, many NRIs have directly and indirectly contributed towards the growth of healthcare in India. Today, India leverages its brand equity in the healthcare segment globally. The Made-in-India mark matters. Few Pioneers in this area are Dr. Pratap C. Reddy (an NRI), Chairman of the Apollo Hospitals Group. In other areas such as IT and management, the participation of Indian Diaspora is satisfactory. Rajat Gupta, Managing partner of U.S. based consultancy McKinsey and Co, set up India's first International Business School in Hyderabad. The objective is to develop new generation brainpower. Sabeer Bhatia had recently signed an MoU with some of the states

in India to promote an affordable voice messaging service which will allow Indians to send recorded spoken messages to anywhere in the world. Initially it will cover one third of the mobile phone in India. The service called 'Telivoice' is the brainchild of the Naveen Communications Inc., an Indian owned enterprise based in Sillicon Valley. Raju Reddy, the founder and Chief executive officer of Sierra Atlanitic, which designs and develops e-business application networks, has set up an offshore development centre in Hyderabad in 1993. Today two-third of his work-force (about 250 people) is in India. There are many of such examples of collaboration, financial support to institutes and consultancies. However, considering the vast number of Diaspora and a country like India, the extent of participation has to go a long way.

#### Diaspora and Healthcare in India

'Health is perhaps the most crucial aspect of human well-being' (Sen 1998: 25). Health service helps to make society physically and mentally sound and increases the capacity of the people to work more, hence it brings about socio-economic development in society.

Compared to industrial organisations, a healthcare organisation is much more directly dependant upon, and responsive to, its surrounding community. The main objectives of these organisations are to provide personalised services and care to each patient. Most of the work is also of emergency in nature- with heavy burden and risk of both moral and secular in nature.

The health sector is perhaps the largest subgroup of any economy. No other sector reaches as many people as the health sector. Health providers are now sophisticated institutionally qualified, and dependent on the market and commodities. The services in this

sector are becoming corporate and institution based. 'The private sector is the main provider of healthcare globally, as well as in India' (Health for the Millions: 2001: 75).

In developing countries like India where the public healthcare system is not adequately meeting the health requirements, the private healthcare system has an important role to play to achieve the goal *Health for All*. It is necessary to involve both private and public healthcare system to achieve the progress in healthcare with mutual co-operation. The demand for new medical knowledge, drugs and medicine is growing, which needs to be addressed by both the public and private healthcare systems.

The role of Diaspora doctors in corporate hospitals and private hospitals is significant in recent years. The role of skilled Doctors is very important for the development of healthcare of our country. NRI Doctors can be of immense help in providing professional expertise in these areas.

After liberalization, the situation in the corporate sector is quite encouraging. The salaries of doctors have shot up after liberalization (over 5 lakh per year, plus hoards of perquisites). Some large Indian corporates are hiring expatriates by giving compensation packages range from \$ 250,000 - \$ 400,000 p.a. That is Rs. 1.25 crore to Rs 2 crores per annum (Cherian, G.: 2002). Moreover, in India, they can afford to hire a driver and servants, luxuries they could never afford in the US. The basic living conditions in India are also improving rapidly, notes one of the scientists (Businessworld, 1999: 21-27). Secondly, opportunities to conduct research are opening in India, spurred by the prospect of the government introducing product patents. Besides, Indian drug companies are also investing more in research. Thirdly, scientists who come home also find that

the work environment is often far more flexible. Wockhardt deputy chief research scientist N.V.S. Ramakrishna notes that, unlike in India, scientists function in watertight compartment in the USA.

There are efforts by the Indian government and various state governments to utilise the skills and services of the Diaspora doctors in general and NRI doctors in particular.

The Andhra Pradesh Government has made effort to seek NRI Doctors' help in various departments in the Government Hospitals in the area of management, consultancy etc.. The Andhra Pradesh Government has seriously taken up this issue. There are about 2,000 NRI doctors from A.P., mostly from Osmania Medical College, working in the US.

The objectives now include use of NRI expertise in mission areas, thrust and emerging areas in S & T and important social sectors of activities, exploring the possibilities of setting up R & D Units and joint venture schemes in selected areas.

The roles of the doctors are important for the development of the healthcare system in India. Over the years, a very large number of Indians have gone abroad to acquire knowledge and expertise in science and technology as well as for other pursuits. They are a potential resource to India. India needs to integrate these communities to the development process of the country. It is evident that these Doctors, who have links with India or those who return India after serving abroad or having been trained abroad, have become beneficial for the healthcare sector tremendously. They bring technology appropriate to our country taking into consideration the commercial, legal, ethical needs. They also understand the organisational compulsion in India.

The Diaspora doctors have sponsored several health projects in rural and urban India. They are also instrumental in establishing several Corporate Hospitals and other ventures in the area of health. Some of the successful NRI ventures in Hyderabad include, Apollo Hospital Groups, LV Prasad Eye Institute, Indo-American Cancer Institute, Biki Cancer Hospital, Medicity Hospital, Yasoda Superspeciality Hospital, Nileoufer Hospital and so many other small scale private hospitals. NRIs also work as brand ambassadors of India for changing the perception especially in the Western World. This helps Indian corporate health sector to attract foreign patience and improve the health business.

Today the Association of American Physicians from India has about 35,000 members. It is a powerful lobby group. There are about 5,000 Doctors from India in other parts of the world. They have been and they can be more helpful in the area of

- 1. Medical Education and Training
- 2. Paramedical training
- 3. Medical practice-drugs, equipment and hospital management
- 4. Medical research and Community network.
- 5. Promoting Medical Tourism in India involving Indian Diaspora and other nationals.

India can get immense benefit if it can tap the NRIs for these purposes. It is also observed that Indians in the U.S. spend close to 1 \$billion on healthcare. If India could provide better facilities and attract them, it will be a tremendous push toward the healthcare development of India.

Private medical practice flourishes almost everywhere. Providers range from herbal and witch doctors to modern unqualified or quasiqualified 'quacks' to qualified practitioners in different systems of medicine. Today there are about 11,25,000 practitioners registered with various state medical councils in the country. Of these, 1, 25,000 are in government service (including those in administration, central health services, defense, railway and state insurance). The remaining 10,00,000 doctors, in various systems of medicine are practicing in the private sector. One can assume that at least 80% of them (8,00,000) are economically active, and about 80% of the latter (6,40,000) are working as individual practitioners.

Healthcare providers are found concentrated mainly in the urban areas. As per 1981 census 73% allopathic doctors are located in cities, especially the metropolitan areas.

The private healthcare sector has played a major role, especially with regard to the treatment of routine illness. Data in the eighties from both micro studies and national level studies (by the National Sample Survey and the NCAER) have proved the overwhelming dominance of the private health sector in India. These studies show that 60-80 % of healthcare is sought in the private health sector, for which households contribute 4-6 % of their income, at today's market prices.

The role of the state in contributing to the growth of the private health sector both directly and indirectly is very important here. State government encourages medical professionals and hospitals to set up private practice and hospitals. In addition the government has allowed the private health sector to expand.

Other nature of the healthcare sector is the both 'public' and 'private' mix. Over the last decade, increasing pressure is being exerted

on the private healthcare sector to make necessary amends.

Today there are about 11,25,000 practitioners registered with various state medical councils in the country. Of these, 1,25,000 are in government service (including those in administration, central health services, defense, railway and state insurance). The remaining 10,00,000 doctors, of various systems of medicine are practicing in the private sector. 80 percent of them (8,00,000) are economically active and about 80 % of the latter (6,40,000) are working as individual practitioners. (Health for the Millions: Vol. 27, No.5, p-75)

Healthcare is racing towards technologically more advance stage to meet the challenges of today. Healthcare delivery through application of telemedicine is becoming an emerging area. This will help transfer electronic medical data, including high resolution images, sounds, live video and patient records from one location to another to another through telephone lines, ISDN, modem, Internet, satelite and video-conferencing.

Already healthcare systems for diagnosing and monitoring severe asthma patients via Internet have been launched in the USA and UK. Those suffering from asthma or cardiac problems will use a portable monitoring device to record their breathing patterns. The data will be sent via a modem or a telephone line to the patient's consultant. The system will record the data, time, temperature and humidity condition (critical to analyzing the health of asthma patients) etc. Since 2001 Malaysia has also established a central system, where doctors can provide health services through telemedicine.

The marginal presence of the government in healthcare leaves the door open for the alternative suppliers. India spends about 0.7 percent of its GDP on public health agnaist an average 0.9 % GDP for low-income countries.

Healthcare Expenditure as % of GDP

Country	Tot. Exp. (% of GDP)	Share of Public Healthcare Exp.	Share of Pvt. Sector Exp.
India	6.0	1.3	4.7
Bangladesh	3.2	1.4	1.8
China	3.5	2.1	1.4
USA	12.6	5.6	7.0
U.K.	6.1	5.2	0.9
World Avg.	8.1	4.9	3.2

Source: ICRA, The Indian Pharmaceutical Industry

This shows that India spends a higher percentage of its GNP on health than China, Bangladesh etc. This is true of both public expenditure on health, as well as the total (public and private) expenditure on health. Here we can see the poor returns on the resources we spend on setting up healthcare facilities all over the country.

India's Doctor nurse ratio is too poor compared to countries like Kenya and Sri Lanka. These two countries (Kenya and Sri Lanka) have higher life expectancies and lower infant mortality than India.

Many challenges face Indian health policy makers. Monica Das Gupta and Lincoln et. al. have raised the following questions which need to be addressed carefully. 'Can Universal care be afforded and managed by the public sector alone? How can appropriate fiscal, human resources and social systems be developed to achieve this goal? Could decentralization of health policy help in this process? How can the public and private sector be made to interact to achieve better health outcomes? How information dissemination be accelerated to enable people to make the crucial transition to protect their own health efficiency?

#### Corporate Hospitals in India

Corporate hospitals are going to play a vital role in India in near future. Presently though they are not spread widely all over the country, these hospitals are found mostly in metropolis. They make their impact more in terms of quality medical service in the society.

The concept of corporate hospitals in India was pioneered by Dr. Pratap C. Reddy. In India corporate hospitals are the front runners in using all the leading technologies. Corporate hospitals mushroomed in the late eighties. These hospitals with their high-profile and profit-driven approach, are located mainly in urban centres. Another dimension of the urban area is the relatively high incidence of institutional support for an individual's healthcare needs of their employees.

#### Indian Diaspora and healthcare

Indian Diaspora is one of the most resourceful communities for the development of healthcare provided the situation at home in the area of healthcare is condusive and there is an willingness to make proper effort to exploit the opportunity. Interaction between NRI doctors and scientists help the health sector gain from each other's experience. There are several areas of health sector where NRI Doctors' involvement has brought significant change in the health sector. For example the growth of new technology and corporate health sector today gets lots of encouragement from the NRIs. They support in collaborative research, consultancy and investment in the sector.

Some reports reveal that there is a reverse flow of migration of NRIs today. Scientists and Doctors are coming back to India and joining various research and hospital sectors. The Businessworld magazine had a coverage on how dozens of doctors have been returning from U.S. to India giving up their lucrative salary there (Surendar. T: 1999). The story tells how doctors are leaving several premier institutes in USA and coming to India. The statistics shows the intensity of reverse brain drain:

Company	Total No. of Scientists on its role	Scientists from Abroad	Work Engaged in
Dr. Reddy's Lab	250	20	New Drug Research
Lupin Laboratories	120	4	Research in natural Product chemistry
Nicholas Piramal	80	10	New Drug Research
Torrent Pharma	140	6	Medicinal, Chemistry, clinical research
Wockhardt	160	10	Biotechnology, new drug research, chemistry, pharmacology

There are certain areas where the healthcare system can directly establish relationship with large number of NRI doctors and other Indian Diaspora doctors who stay abroad. Today, the Association of

physicians of Indian origin consisting of 35, 000 physicians is a powerful and dedicated body which interacts with Medical Council of India, and participates in various medical teaching and programmes all over the country. Tommy Thompson, Health Secretary of U.S.A., recently has commented that the finest Indian American doctors, researchers and scientists working on the frontline to discover new cures for the cancer, for Alzheimer;s, for diabetes and for developing a vaccine for AIDS (K. Subbarao: 2001). India badly needs the cooperation in these areas to serve the mass who are affected by these disease.

The support of the new technology such as Telemedicine can bridge the gap of distance and can afford healthcare in affordable cost. India can have direct relationship with the Diaspora community through the help of the technology.

#### NRI Doctors in Andhra Pradesh

Several Small hospitals and corporate hospitals have been supported by NRIs in Andhra Pradesh. Corporate hospitals include Apollo Hospitals, Medwin Hospitals, C.D.R. Hospitals, Kamineni Hospitals, Yasotha Hospital and Vijaya Diagnostic Centers have been supported. "In addition, Alumni Association of all the A.P. Medical Colleges particularly from USA and Europe are taking a great deal of interest in the progress of medical and health facilities in Andhra Pradesh and subscribing individually and collectively' (Rao, K.S. 1996: 359).

NRIs are also instrumental in establishing several small and corporate hospitals in Andhra Pradesh and most of them are concentrated in Hyderabad city itself. Few cases are given below.

#### **Apollo Hospitals**

Apollo hospital was established by Dr. Pratap C. Reddy in 1980s, himself an Cardiologist in the US. Today, Apollo Hospitals Enterprise Limited is the umbrella body for over 26 hospitals. The hospital is at the forefront of medical technology and expertise. It provides a complete range of latest diagnostic, medical and surgical facilities for the care of its patient.

Apollo Hyderabad is one of the well-established healthcare centers, offering excellent facilities with an <u>ISO 9002</u> certification to its credit. It has 400 bed, multi-specialty hospital with state-of-the-art medical equipment, is the largest private hospital in Andhra Pradesh.

Dr. Sangita Reddy, M.D. Apollo Hyderabad, said in a conference on Diaspora organized by the Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora, University of Hyderabad that 'Apollo began with the support of around 450 doctors each contributed \$10,000 to \$50,000. Besides, they have been giving their time, advice and latest medical technological support to the Apollo Hospital. Some of them have also provided their nurses at the initial stage of the growth of Apollo. They have shared their knowledge generously. They have financed few health-related projects in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh.

Dr. Sangitha Reddy strongly supports the idea of integrating NRI communities to the development process of our country so that we can use their knowledge, good will and other supports. She says NRIs bring technology suitable to our country taking into the commercial, legal and ethical consideration. They understand the protocol of the technology, legal compulsion, organizational compulsion, medical compulsions etc.

#### L.V. Prasad Eye Institute (LVPEI)

The L.V. Prasad Eye Institute founded in 1986 is a centre of excellence in eye care. It was established by an NRI, Gullapalli N. Rao, then an Opthalmologist in Rochester, New York. Dr. G. N. Rao says 'the institute is a true reflection of an NRI commitment, the spirit of American excellence transplanted into Indian Healthcare System. This was made possible by NRI participation in diverse ways, including entire planning and development, collaborative support in teaching and research and significant monetary help to create world class infrastructure'. He says, this contribution was pivotal for the rapid evolution of the institute to a leadership position among the eye centers of the world in less than ten years' time. About 50 NRIs are associated with the Institute. The main objectives of the Institute are to provide service to the poor people in the rural area, children, manpower development and research in the area of advance eye care etc. A majority of these people live in the developing world.

In India, 30 percent of all persons with low vision are below 15 years. Low vision can result from a variety of visual disorders and hereditary conditions. Most people with low vision can achieve a better quality of life with the right interventions. (http://www.lvpei.org/rehab.html). At L.V. Prasad Institute, 50 percent of all services- including beds, food, medicines, surgery- went absolutely free to economically weaker sections, in terms of the number of patient registered (khadria 1999: 168).

There are several other hospitals around Hyderabad, which are into the service, are supported by NRIs.

#### Bibi Cancer Hospital

Dr. A.M. Nisar Syed an NRI, presently in USA, established Bibi

Cancer Center. This is the first comprehensive Cancer Center in India in the Private sector which includes high-tech department of Radiation Oncology, Surgical Oncology and Medical Oncology.

#### Vera Laboratories

The contribution of many Andhraite in USA had given shape to Vera Laboratories. They contributed financially and guided the company in the selection of the product mix etc. The plant is the most modern unit and has more concern towards to environment.

#### Medwin Hospitals

Situated in the heart of Hyderabad city, the centrally air-conditioned 350 bed hospital has the unique feature of having 40 specialized departments under one roof. Prof. Kakarla Subba Rao, who then stayed in USA, with his vast experience, became its Chairman. He brought several NRIs from USA, France and other technically advanced countries to participate in various programs of the Hospital. Apart from their contribution on the treatment side, some of the NRIs contributed their might by investing substantial amounts to procure the latest medical equipment such as M.R.I. etc.

#### International School of Imaging Technology (ISMIT)

ISMIT is a premier Institute of its kind in Southeast Asia dedicated to train technical personnel, practicing radiologists, post-graduates, and physicians in Imaging technology. The technical advice of the Telugu NRIs including Prof. Kakarla Subba Rao, has given shape to the Institute. Many NRIs, especially from USA, have also contributed financially.

#### Other programs supported by NRI doctors

The charitable contribution of the NRI Doctors to support various medical related programs. These include:

- Polio-plus immunization
- Tuberculosis control program

#### **Conclusion:**

Most of the countries like China, Taiwan, South Africa etc,. consider their Diaspora as 'hidden asset'. Indian Diaspora is no exception. Though, Indian Diaspora has for long been ignored as the economic potential of the country, of late, there has been a growing realization of the importance of NRI in the healthcare sectors. This realization, in fact, started in the late 1990s.

So far as healthcare is concerned, India spends about a billion outside India on healthcare, as high quality health service is still not available in many hospitals. The healthcare infrastructure and over all quality need to be improved considerably in order to prevent Indian patients going abroad for healthcare. In addition to that the image of India as a home of rampant red tape, crowded cities and crumbling infrastructure, which discourage would-be investor, has to be improved (Far Eastern Economic Review 2000: 38).

Keeping in view various important aspect of diaspora community and healthcare development in India, Prof. K. Subbarao has suggested few things:

1. Create centers of reception and registration at the port of entry.

- 2. Develop a database with interaction of various National and International Medical Bodies.
- 3. Recognition of qualifications and exchange at various levels of teaching and learning.
- 4. Common examination centers in India and abroad for eligibility to practice.
- 5. PIO cards for all the medical and paramedical personnel to travel freely.
- 6. Collaboration between foreign and indigenous equipment manufacturers.
- 7. Relaxation of import duty on major medical equipment.
- 8. Contacts with Department of Health and Human Resource of their adopted countries to influence the policies.
- 9. Introducing Tele-medicine concept with web cast and virtual reality presentations with easy accessibility.
- 10. Create medical facilities for the parents and families of NRIs.

Effective foreign policy could enhance the ties between the Diaspora and India that will bring benefits to both. It will also benefit the host country. A report of McKinsey Quarterly says 'Governments in the emerging markets might also consider the idea of negotiating bilateral agreements with "brain gain" countries to help pave the way for easier travel by expatriates, joint business ventures, and business and educational, cultural exchanges' (Devan, Janamitra & et al. 2002).

There is a need for maximum participation of diaspora in various areas including health and education to bring out development of India. Knowledge workers are most important for the today's world economy. By using the resources of the emigrant as well by attracting them to return back to home, India can mitigate the loss of brain drain to some extent.

It is also necessary to look after the health of the vast rural population. India's rural development work with the help of Diaspora is not effectively supported by Government. So far the Diaspora doctors are concentrated in the metro cities and urban areas. There is a need of further research and strategy building to involve Diaspora community with the rural healthcare. Networking among the Indian Diaspora doctors' community (or individual doctor) who are willing to involve in rural healthcare and Government as well as NGOs are necessary to promote healthcare.

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Part - II Database

# DI- American Indians and Alaska Native Population, 1990-2000

American Indians and Alaska native population for the United States

Sl. No	States	Number	Percent of Total population	Number	Percent of Total population
		1990		2000	
1.	Alabama	16506	0.4	22430	0.5
2.	Alaska	85698	15.6	98043	15.6
3.	Arizona	203527	5.6	255879	5.0
4.	Arkansas	12773	0.5	17808	0.7
5.	California	242164	0.8	333346	1.0
6.	Colorado	27776	0.8	44241	1.0
7.	Connecticut	6654	0.2	9639	0.3
8.	Delaware	2019	0.3	2731	0.3
9.	District of Columbia	1466	0.2	1713	0.3
10.	Florida	36335	0.3	53541	0.3
11.	Georgia	13348	0.2	21739	0.3
12.	Hawaii	5099	0.5	3535	0.3
13.	Idaho	13780	1.4	17645	1.4
14.	Illinois	21836	0.2	31006	0.2
15.	Indiana	12720	0.2	15815	0.3
16.	Iowa	7349	0.3	8989	0.3
17.	Kansas	21965	0.9	24936	0.9
18.	Kentucky	5769	0.2	8616	0.2
19.	Louisiana	18541	0.4	25477	0.6
20.	Maine	5998	0.5	7098	0.6
21.	Maryland	12972	0.3	15423	0.3
22.	Massachusetts	12241	0.2	15015	0.2

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23.	Michigan	55638	0.6	58479	0.6
24.	Minnesota	49909	1.1	54967	1.1
25.	Mississippi	8525	0.3	11652	0.4
26.	Missouri	19835	0.4	25076	0.4
27.	Montana	47679	6.0	56068	6.2
28.	Nebraska	12410	0.8	14896	0.9
29.	Nevada	19637	1.6	26420	1.3
30.	New Hampshire	2134	0.2	2964	0.2
31.	New Jersey	14970	0.2	19492	0.2
32.	New Mexico	134355	8.9	173483	9.5
33.	New York	62651	0.3	82461	0.4
34.	North Carolina	80155	1.2	99551	1.2
35.	North Dakota	25917	4.1	31329	4.9
36.	Ohio	20358	0.2	24486	0.2
37.	Oklahoma	252420	8.0	273230	7.9
38.	Oregon	38469	1.4	45211	1.3
39.	Pennsylvania	14733	0.1	18348	0.1
40.	Rhode Island	4071	0.4	5121	0.5
41.	South Carolina	8246	0.2	13718	0.3
42.	South Dakota	50575	7.3	62283	8.3
43.	Tennessee	10039	0.2	15152	0.3
44.	Texas	65877	0.4	118362	0.6
45.	Utah	24283	1.4	29684	1.3
46.	Vermont	1696	0.3	2420	0.4
47.	Virginia	15282	0.2	21172	0.3
48.	Washington	81483	1.7	93301	1.6
49.	West Virginia	2458	0.1	3606	0.2
50.	Wisconsin	39387	0.8	47228	0.9
51.	Wyoming	9479	2.1	11133	2.3

Source:U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 summary File 1; 1990 census of population, general population characteristics (1990-cp-1)

# D-2, Indian American Community Organisations

#### Hans Bajaria

President ASEI-SE Michigan 1345 Whitefieled Street Dearborn Height, MI 48127 Phone: 313-277-5692

#### Anil Bajpai

President
Geeta Mandal Of
Indianapolis
5463 Turf way Circle
Indianapolis, Indiana 46220
Phone: 317-230-5470

Home Phone: 317-299-4323

#### Jagdev Singh Bajwa

Gurunanak Foundation Of Ame.
7464 Brighouse Court

Alexandria. VA 22310 Phone: 703-922-8524

#### Vikramjit Singh Bajwa

President AICC Inc 3000 Santa Rosa Ave Suite 27 Santa Rosa CA 95407 Phone: 415-346-3228 Fax: 707-544-6464

#### M. Usman Baki

President Gujrati Muslims Assc. Of America 5806 N. Octavia Avenue Chicago, IL 60631

#### Dr. V. Balasubramanian

Tamil Sangam 6804 Upper Mills Road Ellicot Mille, MD 21228 Phone: 410-788-7251

#### Dr. Bholanath Banarjee

Shastriya Sangeet Parishad 8060 Tuckerman Lane Potomac, MD 20854 Phone: 301-983-0672

#### Dev Bandhopadhyay

President
Bichitra, 7433 Wing Lake
Road, Bloomfield Hills,
MI 48301
Phone: 313-876-2906

Home Phone: 810-737-3619

#### Sukumar Banerjee

President SAIKAT, P.O. Box 121405 Chula Vista, CA 91912 Phone: 619-421-5804

#### S. Pramila Banik

Prabashi 8606 Bradmoor Drive Bethesda, MD 20817

Phone: 301-530-7539

Fax: 301-342-3832

#### Sambhu N Banik PhD

Vice President

**IAFPE** 

8606 Brad moor Drive

Bethesda, MD 20817

Phone: 202-342-3832

Home Phone. 301-530-7539

Fax.202-342-8147

#### Dr.Pratap Banka

President Indian Cultural Society Of Urbana-Champaign 2404 High Meadow Lane Champaign, IL 61821

#### Kanchan Bannerjee

Hindu Students Council 43 Valley Road Needham. MA 02192 Phone: 617-563-9685

Fax: 313-995-2765

#### Raj K Bansal

President

AlA, Inc, South Florida Chapter, PO Box 32757

Palm Beach, FL 33420-2757

Phone: 561-745-0022 Fax: 561-746-3770

#### Dr. Bharat Barai

Chairman

Manav Seva Mandir 9903 Twin Creek Blvd

Munster, IN 46321

Phone: 219-736-2800

Home Phone: 219-924-0912

Fax: 219-736-6680

#### Dr. Panna Barai

President

Indian Medical Assc. Of NW In.

9903 Twincreek Blvd

Munster, IN 46321

Phone: 219-736-2800

Fax: 219-924-0222

#### Abhijit Basu

President

Tri-State Durga Puja Inc 7819 Bancaster Circle

Indianapolis, IN 46268-5702

Phone: 317-872-4780

Alt Contact1" 812-334-2184

#### Ms. Mitra Basu

President

India Forum Baltimore

7523 Broken Staff

Columbia MD 20852

Phone: 410-290-5705

#### Rekha Basu

Des Moines Register

623 Glenview Drive

Des Moines, IA 50312

Phone: 515-284-8208

#### Dr. Sankar Basu

Rabi Basar Bengali School 9508 Lumber Jack Row Columbia, MD 21046

Phone: 301-594-1307

Home Phone: 301-604-1675

Fax: 301-599-2358

#### Ashok Batra

President

Indian American Political

Affair

14509 Cantrell Road

Silver Spring, MD 20905

Phone: 301-384-8276

Fax: 301-384-8276

#### Kalyan Battacharya

President

Cultural Assc. Of Bengal

101 Iden Avenue

Pelham Manor, NY 10803

Phone: 516-627-2035

#### Vivek Bendre

President

Maharashtra Mandal, New

York

93-13, 214th Place

Queens Village, NY 11428 -

Phone: 718-619-5000,

Ext. 3682

#### Dr Laxmi N Berwa

Convenor

Dr Ambedkar Memorial Trust

SDS Building

7700 Old Branch Avenue

SuiteC101

Clinton, MD 20735

Phone: 301-868-9066

Home Phone: 703-821-9785

Fax. 301-868-4989

#### Rajesh Bhagat

Secretary

Indian Diomond And Colors

ton.

56 West 45th St

Room 705

New York, NY 10036

Phone: 212-921-4488

Home Phone: 617-861-1143

Fax: 212-768-7935

Alt Contact2: 508-345-0963

#### Vijay Bhalalla

President

International Association for

Advancement

13549 Currey Lane

Chantilly, VA 20151

#### Virendra Bhalla

A.W.B. Food Bank

2 Morley Court

Albertson, NY11507

Phone: 516-621-0919

Fax:516-625-5844

#### Dr. Tarak Bhar

President

**CUAA** 

1126 Edward Drive

Great Falls, VA 22066 Phone:703-759-7033

#### Dr.Hemendra N. Bhargava

Secretary

Radha Soami Society Beas, 925 Indian Boundary Drive Westmont, IL 60559 Phone: 312-996-2245

Home Phone: 708-323-8024

#### S. Ranjana Bhargava

**Executive Director** 

Apna Ghar

4753 N. Broadway

Room 502

Chicago, IL 60640

Phone: 312-334-4663

Alt Contact 1: 312-334-0173

#### Madan Bhasin

Chairperson India Center P.O.Box 8985 South Charleston,

WV 25303

Phone: 304-342-2842

Home Phone: 304-747-4910

Fax: 304-747-5430

#### Dr. Inder Bhat

Kashmir Overseas Assc. 685 Rossmore Court Great Falls, VA 22066

Phone: 703-379-1661

Home Phone: 703-379-8667

#### Gapal Bhatnagar

Ex- President

ICCC Home

12108 Pawnee Dr,

Gaithersburg, MD 20878

Phone. 301-921-9332

Phone: 301-434-0482

Home Fax: 301-439-3390

#### Manu Bhatt

President

Fedn of Asian Indian Assns.

4874 Northtowne Blvd

Columbus, OH 43229

Phone: 614-471-4782

Fax.614-875-7862

#### Ashim Bhawmick

President Emeritus

Indian-American Association.

1149 Wellington Circle

Laurys Station,

PA 18059

Phone: 610-264-6902

Home Phone: 610-262-3397

Fax: 610-264-6798

Home Fax: 610-398-1879

#### Hari B. Bindal

Coordinator

**ASEI** 

7605 Quicksilver Ct

Bowie, MD 20720

Phone: 301-464-5042

Home Phone: 301-262-0254

#### Hari Bindal

President

International Hindi Association

7605 Quick Silver Ct Bowie, MD 20720

Phone: 301-262-0254

#### Inder Bindra

President

International Punjabi Society

8312 Broadway

Elmherst, NY 11373

Phone: 718-424-1122

Home Phone: 516-334-1351

Fax: 718-898-2327

Alt Contact1: 516-353-9353.

#### Dr. Virendra Bisla

President

Phone: 312-646-1616

Indo-American Business Forum

Fax: 312-646-1777

1650 Princeton Avenue

Flossmoor, IL 60422-1

#### Dr Raj Bathra

AAPI

5368 Woodland Estates

Bloomfield, MI 48302

Phone: 810-754-3830

Home Phone: 810-540-8533

Fax: 810-540-8533

#### Bhupendra Bawji

President

IANCF / India Ass of

N,Central Florida

5331 N.E.Silver Springs Blvd

Silver Springs, FL 34489

Phone: 904-236-2383

#### Deepak Butani

Indian Cultural Assc.

6004 Mistry Arch Run

Columbia, MD 21044

Phone: 301-997-2593

#### Agrawal Piyush C

President

Association of Indians in

Americans.

Fax. 954-389-4475

1625 Eagle Bend Weston

Phone: 954-389-4485

#### Lava Cardaza

President

India Catholic Association

22056 Sheffield Drive

Farmington Hills, MI 48335

Phone: 810-577-5025

Home Phone: 810-478-5716

#### Dr. Robert Carman

Executive Director

Vellore Christian Medical

College Assiciation.

475 Riverside Drive

Room 243

New York, NY' 10115

Phone: 212-870-2640

Fax: 212-870-2173

#### Ravindranath Casuba

President

Kannada Koota New York, Inc.

119-14 Linden Blvd

So Ozone Park. NY 11420

Phone: 718-848-6720

#### Mathen Chacko

Secretary,

FIA, 2040 Brigadier Blvd

Odenton, MD 2113

Phone: 410-519-6339

#### Thampy Chacko

President PAMPA

Pennsylvania Asscn of

Malayalees for

Prosperity & Advancement

2707 Solly Avenue

Philadelphla, PA 19152

Phone: 610-328-2950

#### TS Chacko

Secretary

Kerala Cultural Forum

POBox 233

Teaneck, NJ 07666

Phone: 201-384-5139

Fax: 201-384-9564

#### Chinmoy Chakrabarty

General Secretary

Indian Community Center

(ICC) of Garden State

17 Hillary Terrace

Succasunna. NJ 07876

#### Pani Chakrapani

President

Indian Assc Of Inland Empire I

P.O.Box 0388

Lorna Linda, CA 92354

Home Phone: 909-794-0864

Fax: 909-793-6684

#### Rammohan Challa

President

India Association Of

Tuscaloosa

PO.Box 6652

Tuscaloosa. AL 35486

#### Sunil Chand

Member, Executive Board

Federation of India

Community.

India Community Center

12412 Cedar Road

Cleveland Heights, OH 44106

Phone: 216-987-4787

Home Phone: 216-491-9970

Fax: 216-566-5977

#### Ms. Achamma

Chandersekaran

Chair

Indian American Women's Forum.

8911 Tuckerman Lane

Potomac, MD 20854

Phone.202-482-1316

Home Phone: 301-983-2587

Fax: 202-482-2669

#### Nakul Chandra

President
Children's Health & Welfare
Foundation
137 Pavilion Avenue
Long Branch, NJ 07740
Phone:732-870-1611

#### AR Char

Director Nadatarangini 17106 Thatcher Court Olney, MD 20832 Phone: 301-924-2651 Fax: 301-570-4961

#### Sante Chary

President
World Federation of Indians
USRRI Building
1515 Viceroy Drive
Dallas, TX 75235
Phone: 214-688-1025
Fax: 214-688-1145

#### Swadesh Chatterjee

President
IAFPE
Brandt Instruments
PO Box 1190

#### 3333 Airpark Road

Fuquay, NC 27526 Phone: 919-552-9011 Fax: 919-552-2152

#### S. S. Chatwal

President
Chatwal Hotels & Restaurants
234 West 48th Street
New York. NY 10036
Phone: 212-632-9000 Ext: 7025
Alt Contact1: 212-262-3029

#### Ram M Cheerath

President
Association of American
Immigrants
875 Avenue of the Americans
Suite #2100
New York, NY 10001
Phone: 212-563-4464
Home Phone: 617-861-1143

#### Fax: 212-563-4708

# Dr. M. Chelliah Tamil Sangam Of Metro Washington Morning light Trail Columbia MD 21044 Phone: 301-763-8227 Home Phone: 410-531-1718

Fax: 301-763-8395

#### UBP Chelliah

President Center for International Development. 12711 North Cliff Road Bowie, MD 20720 Phone: 301-464-8264 Fax: 301-464-8264

# Dr. G.V. Chelvapilla President

Friends Of India Society 4901 Pacific Blvd Vernon. CA 90058

Phone: 818-856-5433

Home Phone: 818-355-7153

Fax: 818-856-5430

#### Giri Chhabra

President Hindu Center Inc 45-52 Kissena Boulevard (Corner of Holly Avenue) Flushing, NY 11355 Phone: 718-358-6726

# Dr. Raju Chidambaram

Chinmaya Mission Washington, Kailas Niwas 46 Norwood Road Silver Spring, MD 20905 Phone: 301-384-5009 Home

Phone: 703-461-3785

# Shrinaath Chidambaram

Vice President
Association for India's
Development
Box 149
College Park, MD 20741-0149
Phone: 301-441-2614
Alt Contact1: 301-513-0565

#### President

Indian Catholic Society. P.O. Box 19076 Baltimore, MD 24284 Phone: 410-821-8377

#### President

Aligarh Univ. Alumni Association P.O. Box 1877 Ellicott City, MD 21043 Phone: 301-921-2562

Home Phone: 301-262-0254

# Gujarathi Samaj of Metro Washington.

9845 Lee Highways Fairfax, VA 22030 Phone: 703-471-0345

#### Associate Director

IACPA 1275 K St NW Suite 810 Washington, DC 20005 Phone. 202-289-3654 Fax: 202-347-7750

#### President

India Association of St Louis PO box 607 St Louis, MO 63006 Phone: 314-532-8473

#### President

Kerala Cultural Society. 11422 Horse Soldier Place Beltsville, MD 20705 Phone: 301-595-9087

#### President

Marathi Kala Mandal 3851 Whitman Road Annandale, VA 22003 Phone: 703-280-8184

Fax: 703-280-8151

#### President

Janki Ganju Foundation. 11009 Petersborough DrRockville, MD 20852

Home Phone: 713-541-0519

#### Vice President

Raksha

PO box 12337

Atlanta, GA 30355

Phone: 404-687-9707

Fax.404-727-3793

#### President

Tagore Society of Houston

7803 Dal Ray

Houston, TX 77071

Phone: 713-527-7443

Home Phone: 713-541-0519

Fax: 713-779-8728

# Prtesident

The Indus Entrepreneurs Southern California Chapter 13304 Alondra Blvd., 2nd floor, Cerritos, CA 90703-2263

Phone: 562-229-1220

Fax.562-229-1221

#### President

The Hindu Society. 12728 Cormorant, Cove Lane P.O. Box 57262 Jacksonville, FL 32223-2792

#### President

UP Association of Midlndia.

203 Hidden Valley Drive

Edison, NJ 08820

Phone: 732-603-9525

Fax: 212-244-0588

#### Chairman

**FOGANA** 

5710, N. 4th Street

ArlinQton. VA 22205

Home Phone: 703-525-8979

#### Dr A Abdullah

Ex- President

Aligarh University Alumni

Association

12421 River Edge Drive

Potomac. MD 20854.

Phone: 301-294-2297

Fax: 301-294-8095

# Dr. Korah Abraham

Regional Vice-President

Assc. Of Indian Physicians In

America

5825 Tyler Drive

Harrisbura. PA 17112

Phone: 717-652-7574

# Dr. Thomas Abraham

Convener

GOPIO

100 Briar Brae Rd

Stamford CT 06905-1722

Phone: 203-853-4266 Ext: 313

Fax: 203-329-8010

Home Fax: 203-322-2233 All Contact1: 203-329-8010

Nishith Acharya

Past Treasurer
NetSAP, Washington DC
Chapter
PO Box 268
Arlinaton, VA 22210
Phone: 703-521-4348

#### Omdutt Acharya

Chairman Arya Adhyatmik Center 144-03-87th Road Jamaica. NY 11435 Phone: 718-658-0713 Home Phone: 703-671-9258

#### Lal Adhikari

President Uttaranchal Assocn of North America 15349 Stillfield CT Centreville, VA 20120 Home Phone: 617-861-1143

# B. Yamin Afshar

IAFPE
Cogentrix Energy Inc.
9405 Arrowpoint Boulevard
Charlotte, NC 28273-8110
Phone: 704-525-3800

Fax: 704-525-9934

# Dr. Vijay P. Aggarwal

President India Association Of New Mexico 563 Black Bear Road NE Albuquerque, NM 87122 Phone: 505-256-8360 Home Phone. 505-856-6887

# Sunil Agnihotri

President
Indo-Americans Association
for Political Education.
5557 E Santa Ana Canyon
Rd 205
Anaheim Hills, CA 92807
Phone: 714-998-4088
Fax: 714-998-5819

# Anil Agnihotri

President
India American Cultural
Association
1281 Cooperlake Road SE
Smyrna, GA 30082
Phone: 770-476-1767
Home Phone: 770-310-3998

# Newal K. Agnihotri

President Hindu Satsang 799 Roosevelt Road Building 6,Suite 208 Glen Ellyn, IL 60137

# Dinesh Agrawal

President Overseas Friends of BJP 156 Aberdeen Lane State College, P A 16801 Phone: 814-863-8034

Home Phone. 814-234-3558

# Lalit S Agrawal

President Elect

**IAFPE** 

4610 Kanawha Avenue Charleston, WV 25304

# Capt. Aik Singh Ahluwalia

Chairman

SIVA (Society of Indian Veterans in America Inc) 16700 Valley View Avenue,

Suite 205

La Mirada, CA 90638-5832

Phone: 714-670-7100

# Tufail Ahmad

President

American Indian Muslim

Association

4901 Sundown Circle

Mitchellsville, MD 20720

Phone: 301-513-7362

Home Phone: 301-805-9179

# Satya Ahuja

President

**AAPI** 

69 Deer Path Trail

Burr Ridge, IL 60521

Phone: 773-471-8525

Fax: 773-471-1105

# Prabodh Ajbani

Indo-American Pharmaceutical

Assiciation

Cidmack Laboratories Inc

17 West Street PB371

East Hanover. NJ 07936

Phone: 201-386-5568

Home Phone: 908-687-8988

# Angela Anand

President

Asian Indian Womens Network

6912 Winter Lane

Annandale, VA 22003

Phone: 703-642-3156

Home Phone: 301-434-0482

Home Fax: 301-439-3390

#### Lakshmi Anand

Coordinator

Coalition Of Indian

Organization.

208 Powder Mill Road

Morris Plains, NJ 07950

Phone: 973-285-0311

Fax: 973-292-2637

#### Raj K. Anand

Tri-City Indian Association

C/o India Spices

10 Fuller Road

Albany, NY 12205

Phone: 518-899-2905

# Shiva Bassapa Anand

President

ASEI National Capital

Chapter

8211 Spring Branch Court

Laurel, MD 20723-2031

Phone: 410-338-4867

Fax: 301-776-2880

#### M.Anirudhan

President Malayalee Association Of Chicago

1414 Sherman Road Romeoville, IL 60441

#### Aftab Ansari

President

The Asian and Pacific Americans.

The National Institutes of

Health

Natcher Building Room 5 AS-25U, 45 Center Dr. MSC 6500

Bethesda, MD 20882-6500

Phone: 301-594-4952

Fax: 301-480-4543

#### SB Anumolu

President

The Indus Foundation

23 Koster Blvd, Suite 7B

Edison. NJ 08837

Phone: 732-205-9810

Fax: 732-205-9811

# Asif H. Arastu

President

Hyderabad Association Of N.

CA

19762 Gannett Lane

Castro Valley, CA 94546

Phone: 510-537-1907

#### Rameshwar Ashaant

President

World Hindi Association

580, 80th Street

Brooklyn, NY 11209

Phone: 718-748-4155

Fax:718-748-5730

# Harjap Singh Aujla

President

Sikh Association- Garden State

P O Box 171

Bluckemin, NJ 07978

Phone' 609-292-4855

#### Ravi Aulakh

Secretary

TOUCH

8701 Old Dominion Drive

Mclean, VA 22102

Phone: 202-647-7263

Home Phone: 703-356-8306

Fax: 202-736-4597

# Guruswami Ayya

NAAAID-MD

3120 Memory Lane

Silver Spring, MD 20904

Phone: 301-890-9716

#### Krishan Bahl

President

Indo-American Assc.

P.O.Box 5294

Clear Water. FL34618

Phone: 813-781-0240

Home Phone: 813-781-5105

# Harnek S Bains

Chairperson

India Community Center

PO Box 26586

Austin. TX 78755-0586

Phone: 512-835-4674

Home Phone: 512-263-9551

Fax: 512-833-5199

# Mohinder M Bajaj

President

Indo-American Democrats Group.

PO Box 2054

Peachtree City. GA 30269

Phone: 770-631-8500

Fax: 770-631-0553

# Sanjay Bajaj

President

Silicon Valley Indian

Professionals Association

P.O.Box 3533

Santa Clara, CA 95055

Phone: 510-623-5823

# Swami Chidayananda

Minister-in-Charge

Vivekananda Vedanta Society

5423 South Hyde Park Blvd

Chicago, IL 60615

Phone: 773-363-0027

Fax: 773-667-7882

# R Chary Chilakamarri

President

NUZVID 2000 International

7044 Leestone St Springfield,

VA 22151

Phone: 703-642-2685

Home Phone: 617-861-1143

# Murthy G. Chimatta

President

Telegu Assc. Of Greater Chicago

3217 Mallard Drive

Homewood. IL 60430

Phone: 708-747-4000 Ext:

1780

Home Phone: 708-799-2766

Fax: 708-503-3277

# Dilip V Chitre

Maharashtra Foundation

6317 Merna Lane

Lanham, MD 20706-2862

Phone: 202-205-2298

Home Phone: 301-459-1836

# George Cholankeril

Global Trading

8901 Tonnele Avenue

North Bergen, NJ 07047

Phone: 201-854-7752

# Aneesh Chopra

President

NetSAP, Washington DC

Chapter

1600 N Oak Street, #833

Arlington, VA 22209

Phone: 202-945-6891

# Pravat Choudhury

President

Sanskriti

7416 Royal Dominion Drive

Bethesda. MD 20817

Phone: 301-496-8170

# Supriya Choudhury

Director

Prantik 8007 Greentree Court

Elkridge, MD 21227

Phone: 410-799-8755

# Indu Chowdhary

President

Association Of Jats In America

368 Pennington-Titusville

Road

Pennington, NJ 08534

Phone: 609-737-2175

# Ajit K. Chowdhury

President/ Wisconsin Chapter

The Assc. Of Indians In

America

P.O.Box 45052 Madison

# Richard R Christian

Program Coordinator

Southern Asian 7th Day

Adventist Association

9709 Laconia Drive

Adelphi, MD 20783

Phone: 301-439-9267

Home Phone: 410-788-1181

# Navneet S. Chugh

Chairman Monthly Events The Indus Entrepreneurs Southern California Chapter 13304 Alondra Blvd.,@nd floor

Cerritos, CA 90703-2263

Phone: 562-229-1220

Fax: 562-229-1221

# Sanjiv Dabade

President

Marathi Association

6105 Forestview Lane

Plymouth, MN 55442

Phone: 612-425-9602

Fax: 612-425-9603

#### Kamal Dadlani

Coordinator

Sant Nirankari

Mission(Washington Chapter)

7717 Barnstable Place

Rockville. MD 20855

Phone: 301-924-2951

# Rajiv Dalai

President

India Association of Greater

Mobile

1475 Brockton Lane East

Mobile. AL 36695

Phone: 205-633-7797

# B. Damkewala

President

Zoroastrian Assc. Of

Metropolitan area.

8615 Meadowbrook Drive

Hindsdale, IL 60521

Phone: 708-798-1983

Home Phone: 708-355-7936

#### Pravin V. Dand

Jain Society Of Metro

Washington

13102 Chalkstone Way

Silver Spring, MD 20914

Phone: 301-384-3367

Fax: 301-384-3367

# Kamal (Danny) Dandona

Chairperson

Indian National

Congress(America)

220 Old Country Road

Suite 203 Mineola, NY 11501

Phone: 516-741-3470

Home Phone: 516-248-9811

Fax: 516-741-3571

Home Fax: 516-741-3571

#### Arun Das

OSA-Metro Washington DC 5618 Ashborn Terrace Frederick. MD 21701 Phone' 301-620-8623

# Trikalajna Das

Temple President

ISKCON of DC

10310 Oaklyn Drive

Potomac, MD 20854

Phone: 301-299-4797

Fax: 301-299-5025

# Sita Kantha Dash

President

Orissa Soc. of Americas

4925 Interlachen Ct

Edina, MN 55436

Phone: 612-935-1707

Home Phone: 612-931-9400

Fax: 612-736-8711

# Bhagawan Dasherya

President

COAIM

38219 Ford Road

Westland, MI 48185

Home Phone: 313-722-1894

Fax: 313-722-2345

#### Moti Daswani

President

Indian Medical Ass. of S. CA

2 Saint Robert

Monarch Beach. CA 92629

Phone: 310-630-7279

Fax: 310-630-8828

#### Vivek Date

Executive Director

Ventures International Inc

1370 Piccard Drive, Suite 210

Rockville. MD 20850

Phone: 301-977-0100

Fax: 301-977-0171

# Jhaman Datlani

President

Sindhi Association

4206 Bayside Drive

Hanover Park

IL60103

Phone: 708-893-4244

Fax: 708-289-7442

#### Eddie Datwani

St. Michelle's Sportswear Ltd. 1407 Broadway

#1720

New York, NY 10018

Phone: 212-869-9322

Fax: 212-944-0463

#### Walton E Dawson

Ex- President ICCC

508 Louden Court

Silver Spring, MD 20901

Phone: 301-754-7290

Home Phone: 301-434-0482

Home Fax: 301-439-3390

#### Walton Dawson

President

Indian Cultural Coordination

Committee

508 Louden Ct.

Silver Spring, MD 20901

Phone: 301-434-0482

#### Edward Dean

President

Savera Cultural Promotions

PO Box 741

Annandale, VA 22003

Phone: 202-473-9168

Home Phone: 703-916-9014

#### Ishwar Deedwania

Ex- President

FIA of Southern California

17127 Pioneer Blvd

Suite J Artesia, CA 90701

Phene: 310-860-0006

Home Phone: 213-624-8330

Fax: 310-802-1278

Home Fax: 213-624-8331

# Rahul Deepankar

President

New Republic India(NRI) Intern

330 Barrington Drive

Boubonnais, IL 60914

Phone: 815-937-2090

Home Phone: 815-939-2708

Fax: 815-937-3023

Alt Contact1: 815-932-6741

#### Dinesh Desai

Trustee

India Community Center

of Austin

1709 Chincoteague Way

Round Rock, TX 78681

Phone: 512-244-3783

#### Sunil S Desai

President

India Association of Mississipi

31201 Highway 12

Durant, MS 39063

Phone: 601-653-3881

Fax: 601-653-3881

#### Thakor M Desai

President

Vedic Center of Greenville

P.O. Box 5311

Greenville, SC 29606

Phone: 864-297-5253

#### Anita Deshmukh

President

India Development Service

801 N Cass Avenue

Westmont, IL 60559

Phone: 630-655-3880

Fax: 630-985-4540

# Gajanan Deshmukh

Director

American Society of

Engineers

4225 Trobridge Street

Fairfax, VA 22030

Phone: 703-698-5062

Home Phone: 703-273-5879

Home Fax: 703-273-5879

#### Dan Devadatta

Chairman '97 Committee

India Link 7971 Bolt Drive SE

Ada, MI 49301

Phone: 616-682-0910

# Nilimma Devi

Director

Sútradhar Institute of Dance

& 5113 Bangor Drive

Kensington, MD 20895

Phone: 301-949-3580

Fax: 301-949-3580

# Shuby Dewan

President

Indian American Republican

Association.

2184 Kentucky Court

Wheaton, IL 60187

Phone: 708-653-0112

Fax: 708-653-8717

# Avi Dey

TEIN

3023 Sugar Lane

Vienna, VA 22181

Phone: 202-434-4705

Home Phone: 703-242-0312

Fax: 703-242-0312

#### Padam S Dhakad

Board Member

Carolina Asian India

**Business Center** 

Dhakad Associates LLC

4246 Woodglen Lane

Phone: 704-543-6200

Fax: 704-542-3517

#### Alka Dhakar

President

India Association of

Virginia

1920 Boardman Lane

Richmond VA 23233

Phone: 804-786-5177

Home Phone: 804-747-1025

Fax: 804-786-4151

# Om Dhar

Indo-American Kashmir

Forum

18 Drummond Terrace

Livingston, NJ 07039

Phone: 201-455-8736

Home Phone: 201-992-8736

Fax: 201-533-1049

Narendra Dharia

President

IAGO/India Ass of Greater

Orland

5566 Muirfield Court

Orlando FL 32819

Phone: 407-452-5183

Ramesh D. Dhekne

President

Brihana Maharashtra Mandal

310 Lindenwood Drive

Houston, TX 77024

Phone: 713-791-3126

Home Phone: 713-791-2982

Fax: 713-791-3363

KN Dileepan

President

Assc, Of Scientists Of Indian

Origin

3901 Rainbow Blvd

Kansas City, KS 66160-7317

Phone: 913-588-3818

Home Phone: 913-681-9001

Fax: 913-588-3987

Hasmukh Shah

Ex Director

Indo-American Chamber of

Commerce.

1201 Pennsylvania Ave NW

Suite300, PMB 300'

Washington DC, DC 20004

Phone: 301-572-6067

Fax: 301-572-7233

Jayant K Dirghangi

Secretary

India Association of Memphis

6375 Swan Nast Cove

Memphis, TN 38120

Phone: 901-767-8865

Home Phone: 901-767-5049

Fax: 901-767-5029

Manish R Doshi

President

Indian Club of Fairleigh

Dickinson

753 Cedar Lane #4C

Teaneck. NJ 07666

Phone: 201-287-0116

Ahluwalia Balwant

ICCC Activist

Rajiv Gandhi Foundation

16409 Keats Terrace

Rockville, MD 20855

Phone: 202-827-2551

Home Phone: 713-541-0519

Bhatnagar Gopal

Pen Club of Washington

12106 Pawnee

Gaithersburg, MD 20878

Phone: 301-435-6889

Home Phone: 703-281-4599

Kalim Kawaza

Touch

11649 Masters Run

Elicott City, MD 21042 Phone: 410-730-5456

#### Misra Renuka

Community Activist DC Area 12106 Oawnee Dr Gaitersburg, MD 20878 Phone: 301-330-5098

Home Phone: 815-939-2708

Fax: 815-937-3023

# Raj Dutt

Indo-American Political Action 5800 Uplander Way Culver City, CA 90230-6608 Phone: 310-410-1244

Home Phone: 310-641-9006

Fax.310-216-5940

#### Sisir Dutta

Sanskriti Center 5505 Thornbush Ct. Bethesda. MD 20814 Phone: 301-564-3683

# Joyce D'Souza

President Indian American Catholic Association Inc 4306, 29th Street Mt Rainier, MD 20712 Phone: 301-927-3648

#### Peter D'Souza

President Goan Association P.O. Box 5234 Flushing, NY 11352 Phone: 301-927-3648

#### Kamala Edwards

President
Indian American Leadership
Council
PO Box 10521
Silver Spring. MD 20914
Phone: 301-384-1297
Fax: 301-384-0916

#### Kiran C Patel

President
India Cultural Center
11016 North Dale Mabry,
Suite 201
Tampa, FL 331618
Phone: 813-239-3262

#### Rao Emandi

President AAPSA 306 Plant Ave Tampa. FL 33606 Phone: 813-250-2888 Fax: 813-250-2889

#### Sylvester Fernandes

Chairman Asian American Exchange, 54 Myrtle Avenue Metuchen, NJ 08840 Phone: 908-321-5161

Home Phone: 908-549-6934

Fax: 908-321-3673

#### Ramesh G Fofaria

Treasurer

Alumni Assn Of Shri Mahavira

Jain Vidyala

1119 Flanders Street

Garner, NC 27529

Phone: 919-921-1950

# Aleykutty Francis

President

Indian American Nurses

Association

PO Box118211

Carollton, TX 75011-8211

# Gopal Reddy Gade

President

American Telugu Association

PO Box 4496

Naperville, IL 60567

Phone: 209-431-7280

Fax: 208-298-3221

# Gopal Reddy Gade

President

Central Valley Cultural Society

Of India

7652 North Woodson

Fresno, CA 93711

Phone: 209-431-7280

#### M. Gaffoor

President

Alliance of Midwest Indian

Association

675 West North Avenue

Suite # 408

Melrose Park, IL 60160

Phone: 708-450-4950

Home Phone: 708-681-3200

#### Arun Gandhi

M. K. Gandhi Institute.

Christian Brothers University

650 East Parkway South

Memphis, TN 38104

Phone: 901-452-2824

Fax: 901-725-0846

#### M.V. Gandhi

President

Jackson Heights Merchants

Association

37-08, 74th Street

Jackson Heights, NY 11372

Phone: 718-507-8787

#### Pradeep Ganguly

Regional Vice President

**NFIA** 

National Capital (FIA-NC)

4511 Kings Coup Court

Ellicot city, MD 21042

Phone: 410-715-4457

Home Phone: 301-279-8794

Fax: 410-333-8309

# Ranjit Ganguly

Director

Indo-American Center

6328 N California Avenue

Chicago, IL 60659

Phone: 312-973-4444

Fax: 312-973-0157

#### Shri Gaur

Executive Vice President Indian American Chamber of C. 5403 King Richard San Antonio, TX 78229 Phone: 210-804-0030

Home Phone: 210-681-5006

Fax: 210-828-1240

#### S.G. Gedam

President VISION P.O.Box403 Fairview. NJ 07022 Phone: 401-789-5735

Home Phone: 401-739-9689

# TC Geevarghese

President Kerala Cultural Society of Metropolitan Washington 7306 Goddard Drive Lanham, MD 20706 Phone: 301-552-9332

# Anna (Anosuya) Ghosh

President
Sadarang American
International
3649 Hayvenhurst Avenue
Encino, CA 91436
Phone: 818-981-0777
Fax: 818-981-0908

#### Milli Ghosh

Northern Virginia Bengali Association 1714 Rupert Street McLean, VA 22101

# Pradip Ghosh

Ramkrishna Vivekananda Foundation. 8651 Doves Fly Way Laurel, MD 20707 Phone: 301-792-0786

#### Sukumar Ghosh

President
Suchona
839 Spencer Drive
Iowa City, IA 52246
Phone: 319-335-3500

#### Subhas Ghosh

Indian Assoc. Of Charlottesville 2759 Crickle Wood Road Charlottesville, VA 27901 Phone: 804-973-2870

#### Permjit S Ghotra

President Indian Students Association The University of Akron Akron. OH 44325

#### Mike Ghouse

Chairperson Asian American Cultural Forum 2880 LBJ Frwy, Suite 100, Dallas TX 75234 Phone: 972-481-1900 Home Phone: 214-797-4663

Fax: 972-219-7331

Jagdishar Singh Ghuman

President

Sikh Religious Society

1280 Winnetka Street

Palatine. IL 60067

Piara S. Ghumman

Founder

Friends of India in North

America

2831 Gallqws Road # 167

Falls Church VA 22042

Home Phone: 703-698-0448

Fax: 703-560-4832

Home Fax: 703-698-7943

Amarjit Singh Gill

President

International Sikh Heritage

Association.

5600 Gobind Lane

Fairfax Station. VA 22039

Phone: 703-425-4655

Home Phone: 301-384-8208

Alt Contact1: 202-433-2516

Veena Girdhar

President

India Forum Inc

7 Valley Gate Way

Baltimore. MD 21208

Phone: 410-484-0255

Fax: 410-484-8369

Sharad Godbole

President

Maharashtra Mandal Of

Chicago

255 Maricopa Lane

Hoffman Estate, IL 60194

Alak Gael

Rajasthali

9500 Eagle Ridge Drive

Bethesda, MD 20817

Phone: 703-614-0185

Home Phone: 301-469-0090

Ramesh Goel

President

Association of Rajasthanis in

America

8301 N. Parkside

Morton Grove, IL 60053

Phone: 312-761-4545

Fax: 708-967-6784

Animesh Goenka

The Assc. Of Indians In Ameri

10West 46th Street

Phone: 516-746-5512

Fax: 516-746-7930

Angelo Gomes

President

Goan Assc Of New Jersey 1

Radcliffe Drive

Voorhees, NJ 08043

Phone: 215-735-9644

Home Phone: 609-772-0317

# Mohan Gopalan Gopal

President India Club The World Bank

Washington, DC 20433

Phone: 202-458-0820

Home Phone: 703-356-0742

Fax: 703-356-8504

#### Deo Gosine

President Association Of Engineers & Architects P:O.Box1870 Long Island City, NY 11101-1870

# Sameer Guharay

Sangeet 4618 Learned Sage Ellicott City, MD 21043 Phone: 410-997-0843

# Kalpalatha Guntupalli

Ex- President

**AAPI** 

Pulmonary Department Ben Taub General Hospital 1504 Taub Loop Houston, TX 77030

Phone: 713-793-2468

Home Phone: 713-660-9146

Fax: 713-790-9576

# Aish Gupta

Indian Physicians Of N. Virginia

7704 Carlton Place McLean, VA 22102

Phone: 703-998-6550

Home Phone: 703-821-3942

Fax: 703-578-0672

# Ashok Gupta

President

Asso. of Indian Pharmacists in

America

2221 Coldspring Rd.

Arlington Heights, IL 60004 Home Phone. 708-577-9317

Alt Contact1: 312-233-7255

# Deep Gupta

Chairman

Asian Indian Americans of

Central America.

411 Reservoir Road

Mechanicsburg, PA 17055

Phone: 717-697-3578

Fax: 717-772-2169

Alt Contact1: 717-787-6507

# Prakash Gupta

President

India Assc of Greater

Greenville

107, Lancelot Drive

Simpsonville, SC 29681

Phone: 803-967-7136

#### Ramesh Gupta

Secretary

Indo-American Political &

Economica Association.

PO Box 814269

Farmers Branch, TX 75381

Phone: 972-620-8500

Home Phone: 214-942-0881

# Sachidanand Gupta

National Council of Asian Indian Association 10910 Silent Wood Place N Potomac, MD 20878

# Subhash Gupta

President India Assc. of Nashville 5108 Dorchester Circle Brentwood. TN 37027 Phone: 615-377-6310

# Sunil Gupta

Indian Students Assc. UMD 14914 Falconwood Drive Burtonsville, MD 20860

# Suresh C. Gupta

President Durga Temple 10805 Nantuket Terrace Potomac, MD 20854 Phone: 301-299-5000 Home Phone: 301-262-0254

# Suresh C Gupta

United Hindu-Jain Temples. 10805 Nantucket Terrace Potomac, MD 20817 Phone: 301-864-1133

Home Phone: 301-299-5000

Fax: 301-864-2155

# Vivek Gupta

President India Association Of Phoenix P.O. Box 60121 Phoenix, AZ 85082-0121 Phone: 602-554-2195

Home Phone: 602-820-5498

Fax: 602-554-7791

#### Mohammad Hamid

President Hamdard Center 96 W Moreland Suite 10 Addison, IL 60101 Phone: 708-628-9191 Fax: 708-628-9195

#### Marella Hanumadass

President India Medical Association (Illino... 17W300 22nd Street Oak Brook Terrace, IL 60181-4... Phone: 708-530-2484 Home Phone: 312-633-6570 Fax: 708-530-2475

Home Fax: 312-633-6571

# Ghanshyam Heda

President India Association of Memphis PO Box 17023 Memphis. TN 38187-0023 Phone: 901-577-7269

Home Phone: 901-763-2101

Fax: 901-577-7273

# Srichand Hinduja

Chairman
Hinduja Foundation
520 Madison Avenue
40th Floor
New York. NY 10022

Phone: 212-688-5400 Fax: 212-752-7312

#### Somnath S Hiremath

Editor-1996 Directory India Association of Indianopolis 5507 Spicebush Drive Indianopolis, IN 46254 Phone: 317-297-1266 Fax: 317-898-8196

#### Ustad Hamid Hossain

Founder/Director The Academy Of Indian Music & Fine Arts 1403 Woodcliff Avenue Baltimore, MD 21228 Phone: 410.747-3950

#### Ishrat Hussaid

President
22 American Indian Muslim
Association
7201 Eagle Ridge Place
Bethesda, MD 20717
Phone: 301-365-5925

# James Illikal

President Kerala Cultural Club 1323 Gangplank Drive Valrico, FL 33594 Phone: 813-988-8857

# Srinivasa L. Iyer

President India Association 3922 Mountain Shadows Place

Phone: 605-394-2445

Home Phone: 605-343-4969

Fax: 605-394-5195

#### Mammen Jacob

President
India Democratic Cultural
Forum
P.O.Box840152
Pembrook Pines, FL 33084
Phone: 305-962-6435
Home Phone: 954-384-8702
Fax: 305-962-6435
Alt Contact1: 800-330-8912

# Thomas Jacob

President Kerala Assc Of Atlanta 1210 Creekwood Cove Lawrenceville, GA 30245 Phone: 404-346-9954

# Gopinath R Jadhav

President Hindu Center 5739 Deep Forest Road Richmond, VA 23237 Phone: 804-346-9954

#### Ashok Jain

Chairman Public Relations Co.

**AAPI** 

1253 Cottingham Row

Bloomfield Hills, MI 48302

Phone: 734-467-4383

Home Phone: 810-647-2727

Fax: 810-742-7253

Home Fax: 810-647-2787

# Pukhraj Jain

President

India Assc. Of Greater

Springfield.

1605 Hunter Ridge Drive

Springfield, IL 62704

Phone: 217-793-5761

Home Phone: 217-787-2321

# Rajendra K Jain

President

American Association of

Indians.

8 Oak Alley Metairie, LA 70002

Phone: 504-887-8242 Fax: 504-887-58411

Home Fax: 504-897-8336

# Sunil Jain

Prabashi

14565 London Lane

Bowie, MD 20715

Phone: 301-805-1950

#### Sunny Jain

Co-ordinator

India Community Club

66, Logan Avenue

Staten Island, NY 10301

Phone: 718-876-0204

Home Phone: 718-876-5048

Fax: 718-876-0204

# Sushil Jain

President

Jain Temple Advancement

Phone: 301-670-0519

# Madhuri Jaju

President

Indian Scientists Association of

99 Westbourne Terrace #1

Brookline. MA 02146

Phone: 617-739-3501

Home Phone: 617-522-1477

# Suresh Jani

Coordinator

Overseas Friends of BJP

320 Fairmount Ave # 309

Jersey City, NJ 07306

Phone: 201-413-9004

Fax: 201-413-9004

# Lalita Janke

Trustee

Association of Indians in America

2742 NE Steet

Pompano Beach, FI 33062

Phone: 305-946-3646

#### P. Jayaraman

Director

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan

305, 7th Avenue

17th Floor New York. NY 10001

Phone: 212-989-8383

# S. Jayashankar

President

**AAPI** 

74 Country Drive

Weston, MA 02193-1165

Phone: 781-790-1007

Fax: 781-790-1008

# Dinesh Jhaveri

President

Sangam Diamond Corporation

576 Fifth Avenue

**Suite** 1004

New York, NY 10036

Phone: 212-575-8363

# Shiv K. Jindal

Past Chairman

American Society of Engineers

7582 Vogels Way

Email:jindalsk@state.gov

Springfield, VA 22153

Phone: 703-875-6334

Home Phone: 703-644-5815

Fax: 703-875-6204

#### Asthana Jitu

Executive Director

Indo-American Association of

Delaware

113 Jupiter Rd

Newark, DE 19711

Phone: 302-234-0214

# Rev. Roberta Jones

Executive Director

Ludhiana Christian Medical

College Board

475 Riverside Drive

Suite 250

New York NY 10115

Phone: 212-870-2641

#### Thomas L Jones

Managing Director

Habitat for Humanity

International

121 Habitat Street

Americus, GA 31709-3498

Phone: 912-924-6935

Fax: 912-924-6541

# Rajesh Kadian

Pen Club

10005 Thomas Ridge Ct.

Great Falls, VA 22066

Phone: 703-759-4955

# Kshama Kakade

Publisher Vivah

115 West Lake Drive

Carollton, GA 30117

Phone: 770-836-0469

Fax: 770-836-0469

#### Hasan Kamal

Aligarh Alumni Association

Atlanta. GA

Phone: 404-584-3868

Home Phone: 770-498-1348

#### Kamala

Director
Gandhi Memorial Center
4748 Western Avenue NW
PO Box 9515
Washington, DC 20016

Washington. DC 20016 Phone: 301-229-3871

Home Phone: 301-229-5914

Fax: 301-229-7576

#### Marian Kamath

Chairperson
Foundation to Advance Excelle
4625 Merrick Road
Massapequa, NY 11758
Phone: 516-798-1116
Fax: 516-798-8530

#### Pramod Kamdar

President
Federation Of Indian Ass. Of
S.Cytel Corporation
3525 John Hopkins Court
San Deigo, CA92121-1121
Phone: 619-552-2741

Home Phone: 619-538-0666

Fax: 619-552-2721

# Aik S Kamoh

President India Arts and Heritage Society PO Box 24622 Seattle, WA 98124-0622 Phone: 206-823-6435

# Velji Kansara

Member Baroda Medical College Alumni.

3843 Manchester Court Bloomfield Hills, MI 48302 Phone: 810-347-8000

Home Phone: 810-932-1727

#### Babu Kantamaneni

Huntsville Telugu Association 4230 Willobend Road Decatur, AL 35601 Home Phone: 205-355-9532

# Andy Kaplani

President Andrews Sportswear 1407 Broadway New York, NY 10018 Phone: 212-764-6220

#### Ramesh V. Kapur

National Finance Committee 57 Amberwood Drive Winchester, MA 01890 Phone: 781-395-1947 Home Phone: 781-721-9829

Fax: 781-395-9098

#### Dev Kumar Kar

N.VA Bengali Association 10203 Rutherford Ct Oakton, VA 22124 Phone: 703-255-7144

# Aparna Karmarkar

Nrityagandha 1 0622 Cavalcade Street Great Falls, VA 22066 Phone: 703-759-3979

# Aparna Karmarkar

Nrityagandha 10622 Cavalcade St. Great Falls, VA 22066 Phone: 703-759-4955

#### Karve

Chairman Indian American Political Affair 1646 S.E. 3rd Avenue Ocala, FL 34471-4469

Phone: 352-629-4151

Home Phone: 352-237-3084

Fax: 452-629-4227

# Jagan Kaul

NFIA-Midwest
Kashmir House
RR 3 Box 114
Siuox Falls, SD 57106
Phone: 605-368-2265
Fax: 605-368-2265

#### K. L. Kaul

President & Director Indo-American Kashmir Forum 37733 Junifer Drive Sterling Heights, MI 48310 Phone: 810-795-3109

Home Phone: 810-978-2435

Fax: 810-795-3109

# Satya P Kaushik

President India Lions Club Arlington DFW Lions Club Int'1 Dist 2-E2 Phone: 817-732-5271

# Kaleem Kawaja

President
TO. Rajiv Gandhi
Foundation-Wash
11649 Masters Run
Ellicott City, MD 21043
Phone: 301-286-4329
Home Phone: 410-730-5456
Fax: 202-966-6572

# Chitrarekha U Kayerker

President
India Community Foundation
7508 Deerview Court
Louisville, KY 40241
Phone: 502-228-1452
Fax: 502-228-1865

#### Mohan Kelkar

President
India Association Of Greater
Tulsa
3528 E 104th Street
Tulsa. OK74137
Phone: 918-631-3036
Home Phone: 918-299-5008
Fax: 918-631-3250

# Ajit Khaitani

American Assc. Of Importers 1466 Broadway Suite 907 New York, NY 10036 Phone: 212-921-0599 Fax: 212-768-2101

#### Mukta Kaur Khalsa

Secretary Public Affairs Sikh Dharma Shri Singh Sahib

Rt 2 Box132D

Espanola, NM 48127

Phone: 505-753-6341

Fax: 505-753-4623

#### Hameed Khan

Past President FOINA 11965 Old Columbia Pike email:KhanH@hd01.nichd.nih.gov Silver Spring, MD 20904 Phone: 301-496-1485

#### Moin Khan

Vice President
The Islamic Society of North A...
5809 N. Napoleon Street
Chicago, IL 60631
Phone: 312-443-7762

Home Phone: 312-763-9050

Fax: 312-763-9050

# Rajiv Khanna

President

India-America Chamber Of

Commerce.

125 West 55th Street New York. NY 10019

Phone: 212-755-7181

Home Phone: 212-424-8000

Fax: 212-424-8500

#### Smithi Khanna

President

Assc. Of Indians In America,

NY Chapter

Premium Point

New Rochelle, NY 10801

Phone: 516-752-3144

#### Sudhir Khanna

Rahdhani Mandhir Fairfax, VA 22030 Phone: 703-440-9066

# Trilochan Singh Khanna

President

Science of Spirituality Inc 8605-C Village Way Alexandria, VA 22309-1605,

Phone: 703-360-9112

# Sejal Shah

Chairperson Indian Cultural Association

1340 Valley Forge Road

Lansdale, PA 19446

Phone: 215-368-7046

Fax: 215-927-2630

All Conlacl1: 215-591-9148

#### Ani Khendi

Marathi Kala Mandal

Phone: 703-207-4886

Home Phone: 617 -861-1143 All Conlacl2' 508.345.0963

#### Salim U Kherani

Certified Public Accountant

2307 Beaver Creek

Westlake. OH 44145

Phone: 216-333-5963

#### Sunil Khorana

Past President India Culture Centre 4003 West Heimer Highland Village Houston. TX 77027

Phone: 713-792-8535

Fax: 713-792-4262

#### Helen S Kim

Chairman US-Asia Foundation 11100 Cripplegate Road Potomac, MD 20854 Phone: 301-983-9828

Fax: 301-294-6477

#### K. Kochunni

President Geetha Mandal 1753 N. Ruther Ford Chicago, IL 60635 Phone: 312-746-5100

#### Sharma Kolluri

President
Telugu Assc of Greater New
Orleans
Phone: 504-888-8046

# Satish Korpe

President FIA, Washington Capital Chapter 8210 Riverside Rd Alexandria, VA 22308 Phone: 703-336-6857 Home Phone: 703-619-1230

Fax: 301-336-6899

# George Koshy

President
Malayalee Assc Of Staten
Island
PO.Box 141099
Staten Island, NY 10314
Home Phone: 718-351-2720

# Maliyil M. Koshy

President & Chairman Indian American Political Action Committee, PA Cha 16 Eldon Avenue Lansdowne, PA 19050

# Thomas Koshy

Chief Editor Kerala Association of New England 1 Wildlife Drive Hopkinton, MA 01748-2646 Phone: 508-435-5885

# Pradeep (Peter) Kothari

President
Indo-American Cultural
Society..
1412 Oak Tree Road
Iselin, NJ 08830
Phone: 732-283-1234
Home Phone: 732-750-3282

Fax: 732-283-1091

Alt Contact1- 732-283-9696

# Rupal Kothari

President Indian American of World Bank 3801 Ivan Lane Alexandria, VA 22310 Phone: 703-960-4053

#### Vinodchandra Kothari

President Indian American Sr Citizens Asscn of Hudson County 22 Cliff Street Jersey City, NJ 07306 Phone: 201-798-5704

# Kishore Kripalani

President Indo-Amer Chamber of Comm.. Phone: 415-771-8822

Home Phone: 415-381-3007

# Darshan Krishna

India School 5502 Durbin Road Bethesda, MD 20814 Phone: 301-654-6915

#### Darshan Krishna

India School 5502 Durbin Road Bethesda, MD 20814 Phone: 301-654-6915

#### Chitra Krishnamurti

Nrityalaya 13 Eldwick Court Potomac. MD 20854 Phone: 301-983-8354

#### Devika Krishnan

Tamil Sangam 979 Rustling Oaks Dr. Millersville, MD 21108

#### Sampath Krishnan

President VA Chapter IAFPE, Maryland Chapter Va Phone: 703-715-0501 Home Phone: 301-948-8069 Home Fax: 301-963-1637

#### Mukund Kulkarni

President AlA of Central Pennsylvania 5602 Pinehurst Way Mechanicsburg, PA 17055 Phone: 717-732-5971

#### S.P. Kulkarni

Indo-American Physicians (PCA)
6 White Pillars Lane
Houston. TX 77024
Phone: 213-461-7776
Alt Contact1. 213-607-0907

#### Subhash Kulkarni

Chairman
Asian Pacific American Society
UNO Box 797
New Orleans, LA 70148-001
Phone: 504-887-3100
Fax: 504-887-5515

#### Aruna Kumar

President

India Cultural Association

P.O. Box 91066

Portland, OR 97291-0066

Phone: 503-264-6060

Home Phone: 360-834-5956

Fax: 503-264-2625

# Dhanjaya Kumar

Bharati 7806, Wendy Bridge Lane, Annandale, VA 22003

#### Jatinder Kumar

Trustee

Advancement & Promotion of

Charitable Activities

7005 Brickyard Road

Potomac, MD 20854

Phone: 301-299-6463

# Jitendra Kumar

Senior Vice President,

Friends of India Society

9809 Korman Ct

Potomac, MD 20854

Phone: 301-984-7050

Home Phone: 301-983-1158

Fax: 301-984-7053

# Krishna Kumar President

President

Indian American Bar Association

Phone: 703-522-6746

Fax: 202-478-0895

#### Nalini Kurnar

Namidhi

9 Westminster Drive

Parsippany, NJ 07054

Phone: 201-428-5360

#### Narendra Kumar

President

Vedic Center of Greenville

3 Chippendale Dr

Greenville, SC 29615

Phone: 864-879-5464

Home Phone: 864-268-7429

#### Pratap C Kumar

President

Association of Tamil Nadu.

352 Trinity Lane

Oakbrook, IL 60521

Phone: 708-789-0304

Home Phone: 312-947-7882

Fax: 704-789-0394

# Prem Kumar

Secretary

Indian American Political Advisor

PO Box 4305

Seattle, WA 98104-4305

Phone: 206-236-7631

Fax: 206-232-9326

#### Prithvi R. Kumar

President

New Hampshire Association of

Asian Indians

PO Box 3132

Manchester, NH 03105 Phone: 603-472-5835

#### Shalli Kumar

President Asian American Association 20660 Weatherstone Kilder, IL 60047

# Suresh Kumar

Executive Member
Indo American Democratic
Committee
PO box 607 NYC, NY
Phone: 516-358-3808

#### Suresh Kumar

President
NetIP-NY PO Box 3165
New York, NY 10163-3165
Phone: 800-215-9907

Home Phone: 516-358-3808

Fax: 516-488-1081

Alt Contact1: 917-742-7791

#### Jaishree Kundu

Indian American Political Feder, 10616 Oaklyn Drive Potomac, MD 20854 Home Phone: 301-299-6251

#### Rev Fr Cherian Kunnel

St Thomas Orthodox Church of India 933 Cascade Mesquite, TX 75149 Phone: 214-329-0575

#### James Kurichi

President Malayali Association of Delawa PO Box 45642 Philadelphia, PA 19149 Phone: 610-352-3040

Home Phone: 609-232-9134

Fax: 610-352-3240

#### Nanik Lahori

President Chinmaya Mission Washington Phone:301-652-0696 Home Phone: 703-461-3785

MD

# Sharad Lakhanpal

Secretary AAPI, 5320 Royal Lane Dallas, TX 75229 Phone: 214-879-6700 Fax: 214-879-6741

# Nari Lakhney

President Krazy Kat Sportsware 100 Triangle Blvd Phone: 201-438-3399

#### T Lakshman

Founder Chairman BTL Foundation. 114 Mettenet Court Hockessin, DE 19707 Phone: 302-234-0425 Fax: 302-234-3328

#### N. K. Lakshmanan

Chairman

Asian American Organisation 4333 Park Forest Drive Memph.lsTN38141

Phone: 901-761-3618

Fax: 901-761-2616

#### Prem T Lalvani

President

Alliance of Sindhi Associations.

642 N Ashbury Avenue

Bolingbrook, IL 60440-1164

Phone: 630-739-7089

Fax: 630-739-3650

#### Harinder S Lamba

**SAGAR** 

6921 Creekside Road

Downers Grove, IL 60516

Phone: 630-964-2258

Fax: 847-885-7977

# Raj Lawande

India Classical Music Society 1818 H.Street NW, World Bank

Phone: 703-369-2891

#### Shanti Lal Lunia

President

Tri-City Indian Association

29 Cord Drive

Latham, NY 12110

Phone: 518-783-1219

#### Juliana Madan

President Shanti Inc 3397 Monarch Lane Annandale, VA 22003

Phone: 703-560-6578

# Krishna Rao Maddapati

President

Detroit Telegu Association

3778 Field Crest Lane

Ann Arbor, MI 48197

Phone: 313-662-6756

# Madhava Rao Maddula

President

Telugu Association

33 Keyes House Road

Shrewsbury, MA 01545

Phone: 508-303-4114

Home Phone: 508-842-5914

Fax: 508-342-9769

#### M. C. Madhavan

President

San Diego Indian American

Society

8727 Verlane Dr

San Diego, CA 92119

Phone: 619-594-5492

Home Phone: 619-698-9865

# Ashok Kumar Mago

Chairman Emeritus

Greater Dallas Asian American

Association

Glen Lakes Drive

Suite 225 Dallas, TX 75231

Phone: 214-696-3435

Fax: 214-696-9798 5477

#### Darshan Mahajan

Indian American Assc. Of

Lorri.

C/o Riverside Medical Center

East River Drive Elyria, OH 44035

Phone. 216-323-6422 673

#### Pramod Mahajan

Past President

Indo-American Assc, Of Iowa

5501 Pleasant Street

West Des Moines, IA 50266

Phone: 515-270-3173

Home Phone: 515-276-3983

Fax: 515-270-3444

#### Ramesh Mahajan

President

Little India Chamber Of

Commerce

18600 1/2 Pioneer Blvd

Artesia, CA 90701

Phone: 213-860-8633

Fax: 310-860-6364

# Rupa Mahendru

President

India Forum Inc

1012 Glenangus Dr Bel Air

Bel Air, MD 21015

Phone: 410-836-5140

#### Madhu Maheshwari

Washington DC Chapter Chair Antar Rashtriya Hindi Samiti 7569 Cloud Court Springfield, VA 22153

Phone: 703-451-2453

Fax: 703-451-8327

#### Madhu Maheshwari

President

Washington Chapter

International Hindi

Association

Phone: 703-451-2453

# Brahma Kumari Jenna Mahraj

Coordinator

Brahma Kumaris World

Spiritual Association

9913 Georgia Avenue

Silver Spring, MD 20902

Phone: 301-593-4990

Fax: 301-593-4990

# Prema Malani

President

Hindi Literary Association

6501 N. Kilbourn

Lincolnwod, IL 60646

#### Kundan Malik

President

India Association of Greater Rockford

4818 Crested Butte Terrace

Rockford, IL 61115

Home Phone: 815-877-5452

# Mustafa Malik

Researcher/Writer

Public Relations Society of Am...

2404 Lake Avenue

Cheverly, MD 20785

Phone: 301-772-1477

Fax: 301-772-1477

#### Lukose Malika

President

The Indian Knanaya Catholic

Assco of Greater NY. Inc

77 Ashford Drive

Syosset, NY 11791

Phone: 516-364-4805

#### Amita Mani

Camp Director

Passage to India Camp

9400 Goddard Ct

Lanham, MD 20706

Phone: 301-552-0493

# Vijaya Manohar

**CEO** 

Bhoomika

5300 Water View Road

Rockville, MD 20853

Phone: 301-871-2234

#### N. Mansetta

Dev Impons

350 Fifth Avenue

#1027

New York, NY 10118

Phone: 212-563-3060

#### Narasaraju Mantena

President

Telugu Association of North

America

571 Princeway Ct

Manchester, MO 63011

Phone: 314-227-0229

Fax: 314-822-5485

# Rukhsana Maqsood

**ASHA** 

2713 East Fair Street

Baltimore, MD 21228

Phone: 410-869-3633

Alt Contact1: 410-456-89584

#### Lalaitha Masson

506, Washington Street

Hoboken, NJ 07030

Phone: 201-963-8554

# Gurcharan Singh Matharu

Ex- President

India Association Of New

Orleans.

PO Box 640158

Kenner, LA 70064

Phone: 504-739-6258

Home Phone: 508-368-2108

Fax: 504-739-6684

# Abraham Mathecal

President

Kairali of Baltimore

5620 Mayview Ave.

Baltimore, MD 21206

Phone: 410-483-3769

# Joseph Mathew

President

Detroit Malayalee Association

36748 Ashover Street

Farmington Hills, MI 48335

Phone: 313-451-0900

Home Phone: 810-478-1883

#### Moni Mathew

Chicago Mar Thoma Church 240 Potter Rd.

Desplaines, IL 60016

#### T. P. Mathew

Secretary

India Association of North Texas 818 S. Central Expressway Suite 4

Richardson, TX 75080

Phone: 214-235-4995

Home Phone: 214-328-9769

#### TA Mathew

Chairman

Kerala sports and Arts Club

PO Box 801752

Houston, TX 77280

Phone: 713-455-7469

#### Thekkil P Mathew

President

India Association of North Texas

777 So Central Expressway

Suite 7C

Richardson, TX 75080

Home Phone: 214-328-9769

Phone: 972-234-4268

Fax: 972-783-4268

Alt Contact1: 972-235-4995

AltContact2: 972-699-1160

#### **Bob Mathur**

President

Chitragupta Parivar of North

America

15 Hillcrest Rd Cedar Grove

NJ, NJ 07009

Alt Contact1: 215-652-6093

Phone: 973-239-6399

# Joseph Mathew

Trustee

**FOKANA** 

335 Ashord Aveneue

Dobbs Ferry, NY 10522

Phone: 914-674-0838

Fax: 914-674-4057

#### Avtar Mattoo

Chairman

Kashmir Solidarity Inc

Phone: 301-504-5103

Home Phone: 301-623-9829

# Nirmal Matto

President

AIA

25 Hill House Lane

Brookville, NY 11545

Phone: 718-545-3617

Home Phone: 516-671-1615

Fax: 516-617-3601

# Mary McGee

Director

Dharam Hinduja India

Research.

Columbia University

420 W 118th Street

MC 3367

New York, NY 10027

Phone: 212-854-5300

Fax: 212-854-2802

#### Ashok Mehan

Captain

Doon School Old Boys'

Society

9212 Gaither Road

Gaithersburg, MD 20877

Phone: 301-258-0770 Ext:200

Home Phone: 301-340-7410

Fax: 301-258-5230

#### Madhu Mehta

India Silk USA

"Landmark" PH 7,

20185 E Country Club Drive

Aventura, FL 33180

Phone: 305-931-8257

Fax: 305-937-4909

#### Paul Mehta

President

India Association of Peoria

PO Box 10661

Peoria, IL 61614

Phone: 309-689-1900

# Suresh Mehta

President

Kinnar Inc.

69 Regent Drive

Oakbrook, IL 60521

#### Vinod Mehta

President

India Assc. Of South New Jersey

Road #4,

1173 Mallard Road

Elmer, NJ 08318

Phone: 609-358-0768

#### Satish Mehtani

President

Overseas Indian Congress

#20 Morris Street

Morristown, NJ 07960

Phone: 201-631-1100

Home Phone: 201-984-7660

Fax: 201-631-9505

# Joseph Melookaran

President

Indo-American Forum For Politi

6405 Metcalf Street

Overland Park, KS 66202

Phone: 913-432-6004

Home Phone: 913-681-1414

Fax: 913-432-6667

# Nasim Memon

Vice Chairperson

IAFPE-VA Chapter

716 North Monroe Street #4.

Arlington, VA 22201

Phone: 202-775-2881

Home Phone: 703-243-1592

# Appen Menon

Vice President

Kerala Center 1824 Fairfax Street

Elmont. NY 48127

Phone: 516-358-2000

Fax: 212-385-2061

Alt Contact1: 212-385-1772

#### Ramchandra Menon

President

Tampa Malayalee Association.

7592, 21 st Street

St. PetersburQ. FL 33702

#### Ramakant Mhatre

President

AlA Metro Washington Chapter

9908 Hurst Street

Bethesda, MD 20814

Phone: 301-530-3709

# Durga P Misra

President

Asian American Chamber of

Commerce

6000 SW 64 Avenue

Miami, FL 33143-2046

#### Kamal Misra

President

Indian Assc. Of Greater Boston

P.O.Box1345

Burlington, MA 01803

Phone: 781-229-6404

Home Phone: 781-729-4135

Fax: 781-229-6405

#### Satish Misra

Chair

Association of United Hindu

11441, Saddleview Place

N Potomac MD 20878

Phone: 301-827-2983

Home Phone: 301-827-6050

# Satya Mitra

President

India Society of Worcester MA

Phone: 508-852-0522

Fax: 508-854-0933

#### Subroto Mitro

Treasurer ASEI

13563 Melville Lane

Chantilly, VA 22021

Phone: 202-685-3297

Home Phone: 703-803-0474

Fax: 202-685-0979

#### Mukund Modi

Ex President

Friends Of India Society Inc

36 Merrick Avenue

Staten Island, NY 10301

Phone: 718-342-3269

Fax: 718-273-6603

# A. Q. Mohammad

President

Exec. Committee Of C.C.I.M./

99 Lafayette Avenue

Apt #2E Brooklyn, NY 11217

Phone: 703-848-2341

#### Madhu Mohan

AAPI Political Affairs Office

9316 Belleteree Way

Potomac, MD 20854

Phone: 202-452-2182

Home Phone: 301-983-2774

Fax: 202-452-2189

#### Ram H Mohan

Vice President Asha (Washington Chapter) 8618 Westwood Center Drive Suite 300 Vienna. VA 22182

Phone: 703-883-0220

Home Phone: 800-617-5163

Fax: 703-883-0224

#### Y Mohan

Ex-President India Association of Tuscaloosa Professor of Sociology Stillman College Tuscaloosa, AL 35401

# Siba Mohanty

NAAAID Of Greater Washington 7631 Hunt Master Lane McLean, VA 22102 Phone: 703-848-2341

# Sarat K Mohapatra

President
The India Association of Minne
PO Box 130158
St Paul, MN 55108
Phone: 612-733-9148
Home Phone: 612-739-0426

#### Prem N. Mohlajee

President India Classical Music Society 410 Northampton Court Naperville, IL 60565

# Raj Mohn

President Harmohn Kraft Inc 7400 Deer Point Court Rockville, MD 20855 Phone: 301-840-8050 Fax: 301-869-7087

# Goray Mookerjee,

IAFPE
US Department of Energy
Room 7H-085,P081
1000 Independence Ave., SW
Washington DC, 20585
Phone: 202-586-6183
Fax: 202-586-5342

#### Vishwas More

President
Indo-American Political
Assocition
506 Tahos Road
Orinda, CA 94563
Phone: 510-254-7142
Home Phone: 510-254-8464

# Jagat Motwani

Secretary General
Global Association of People
of Indian origin
2 Lang Hans Court
Dix Hill NY 11746
Phone: 516-421-2699

Fax: 516-271-8095

#### Chitra Prasanakumar

President India Assc. of New Orleans (IANO) P.O.Box640158 Kenner, LA 70064

#### Hazari Muduli

President
Orissa Society of America
PO Box 158
Tranquility, NJ
Phone:908-786-7854

# Deepak Kumar Mukherjee

President
AAPSA/As of American Physi..
5880, 48<sup>th</sup> Street North
Suite 203-N
St. Petersburg, FL 34423
Phone: 813-527-6464

Fax: 813-521-1963

# Subkanya Mukherji

Mayur Dance Academy 4804 Aspen hill Road Rockville, MD 20858 Phone: 301-983-0672

#### AnwarMunish

President Association of Indian Muslims. Phone: 301-855-1377

Home Phone: 410-992-7946

Fax: 410-535-0495

# Kris Murthy

International Student Association West Virginia Institute of Technology Montgomery, WV Phone: 304-442-3391

Alt Contact1: 304-442-5416

# P Srinivasa Murthy

President Asian Indians of Hampton Roads 4551 Prtofessional Circle Virginia Beach" VA 23455 Phone: 804-484-7910 Fax: 804-483-2662

# Gobind (Gary) Nachnani President Sindhi Assc. of Washington DC Traveller's Choice Inc 7240 F Boudinot Drive Springfield, VA 22150

Phone: 703-569-5105 Ext: 5905

Fax: 703-569-1293

#### Govind Nachnani

Sindhi Association 5539 Dunsmore Rd. Alexandria, VA 22315 Phone: 703-971-6745

# Husain M Nagamia

President Association of American Physicians of Indian Origin. 500 Vanderburg Drive, Suite 203E, Brandon, FL 33511 Phone: 813-654-4466

Fax: 813-684-5500

# Vivek V Nagarkar

New England Marathi Mandal

487 California Street

Newton. MA 02160

Phone: 617-926-1167

Home Phone: 617-965-0512

Fax: 617-926-9743

# Dayan Naik MD

National President

**AAPI** 

17W300 22nd St, Suite 300A

Oakbrook Terrace. IL 60181-4490

Phone: 914-723-3322

#### Ambika Nair

President

India Association Of Nebraska 10346 Fieldcrest Court, No.507

Omaha NE 68114

Alt Contact1: 402-669-8622

Phone: 402-343-0038

Fax: 402-493-1132

# Sukumaran Nair

President

Kerala Assc. of New Orleans

628 Petit Berdot Drive

Kenner, LA 70065

Phone: 504-469-0910

# A. Rehman S. Nakadar

Secretary General

American Federation of Muslim

29008 W 8 Mile Rd

Home Phone-248-932-3338

Farmington, MI 48336

Phone: 248-478-1100

Home Phone: 810-932-3338

Fax: 248-478-7054

# Krishnan C. Nambudiripad

President

Kerala Association of Washington

23608 Meridian Place West

Bothell, WA 98021

Fax: 206-575-2021

#### S. Nanwani

Detail Sportswear

1407 Broadway

New York, NY 10018

Phone: 212-921-9730

# Babu Narasimhan

President

India Forum of Utah

PO Box 58334

Salt Lake City, UT 84158

Phone: 801-588-7612

Home Phone' 801-942-3764

# Ram Narayanan

coordinator

Lobby for India

385 TYremount Ave

Buffalo, NY 14217

Phone: 716-875-9976

Home Phone: 770-310-3998

Fax: 716-874-6578

## Syed M Naseem

Past President

Association of Indian Muslimsl

11773 Bright Passage Columbia. MD 21044

Phone: 202-473-2031

Home Phone: 410-992-7946

Fax: 202-676-1370

#### Ravindra Nathan

Chairman

Association of Kerala Medical

Graduates

11159 Cindy Drive

Brooksville. FL 34601

Phone: 352-796-7000

Home Phone: 352-799-3728

Fax: 352-796-8157

### S. Nayak

**IAFPE** 

9326 Lanham Severn Road

Lanham, MD 20706

Phone: 301-306-1995

Fax: 301-459-0949

## Meena Nayak

President

Assn to Reclaim the Treasures.

18 Devenshire Court

Sterling, VA 20165

Phone: 703-450-0963

Fax: 703-450-0963

## Jose J Nidiry, MD, FACG

Chairman

Coalition of Indian Christians

8613 Honeybee Lane

Bethesda, MD 20817

Phone: 202-865-6100

Home Phone: 301-469-8554

Fax: 202-865-3637

Alt Contact1. 202-234-4730

#### Chandra Nilekani

Secretary

Indo-American Association

113 Jupiter Road

Newark, DE 19711

Phone: 302-658-9480

Home Phone: 302-234-0825

Fax: 302-658-8431

#### Rev Prof Thomas Ninan

Chairman

The Ecumenical Fellowship

Indian Churches in Philadelphia

PO Box 15351

Philadelphia, PA 19111

Phone: 215-673-8594

## Thomas Ninan

President

Kerala Association.

14225 Cribbage Terrace

Silver Spring, MD 20904

Phone: 202-205-8803

Home Phone: 301-384-2783

#### David Oommen

Secretary

The Kerala Assc. Of Chicago

P.O. Box 2494

Darien, IL 60559

#### Nanda Padte

President

Marathi Vishwa Sabha

66 Moak Hazlet

NJ 07730

Phone: 908-888-0533

### Dina Pahlajain

President

Children's Hope (India

29 Ruth Place

Plainview. NY 11803

Phone: 516-462-5171

Fax: 516-576-1180

### G. S. Pal

**NRIAHP** 

7540 Little River Turnpike

Annandale VA 22003

Phone:202-965-5400

Home Phone: 703-759-7170

Fax: 703-642-0209

## Saroj Pal

Co-Chair

Indian Nationality Room

Community.

17 Oak Glen Drive

Oakmont. PA 15139

Phone: 412-828-2911

Fax: 412-828-2485

## Jayachand Pallekonda

President

International Christian Coalition.

410 Potter Road

Des Plaines. IL 60016

Phone: 847-296-3803

Fax: 847-296-3803

## Joy S. Pallilal

President

Indian Catholic Society of

Baltimore

P.O. Box 19076

Baltimore, MD 24284

Phone: 410-821-8377

#### Atul Panchal

President

International Association for Ad

75 Riverdale Road

Valley Stream, NY 11581

Phone: 516-791-2900

Fax: 516-791-2755

#### Haresh Panchal

President

NFIA.

134 Sweet Berry Court

San Jose, CA 95136

Phone: 408-295-3890

Home Phone: 408-972-8745

Fax: 408-225-0729

## Pravin Pandhi

1 Robin Cour1

Hicksville NY 11801

Phone: 718-622-4000

## Jyothi Pandya

President

Pan Gems, Inc.

580 Fifth Avenue #12504

New York, NY 10036

Phone: 212-575-1570

Fax: 212-575-6874

### Pradeep K. Pandya

Trustee
D/FW Hindu Temple Society
P.O. Box 154246
Irving, TX 75011-4246

### Sapan Pandya

Co-President
Indian Students Associatyion
at GWU
532 20th Street NW #201
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: 202-638-3636

## Koshy Paniker

President Kairali PO Box 28563 Dallas, TX 75228-0563 Phone: 972-216-1673

### Sandeep Panwala

Indian Cultural Ass Of The Sou...
4340 Almaden Expressway
#132 San Jose. CA 95118
Phone: 408-778-3300

### Kalathil Pappachan

President
FOKANA
Head Office
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20004

Phone: 202-624-3184

Home Phone: 510-440-7280

Fax: 202-661-4699

## Kalathil Pappachan

President Fokana 9000 Acredale Court College Park, MD 20740

### Andrew Pappachen

Chairman
Kerala Center/World
Malayalee
2 Arthur Place
Montville NJ 07045
Phone: 973-808-2077

Home Phone: 201-697-5922

Fax: 973-808-0428

### Subhash Paradkar

President
Marathi Kala Mandal
3851 Whitman Road
Annandale, VA 22003
Phone: 703-280-8184
Fax: 703-280-8151
Alt Contact1: 301-981-4345

## Priscilla Parameswaran

Chairman
Asian American Republican Co.
214 Mamaroneck Avenue
White Plains, NY 10601
Phone: 914-949-3020
Home Phone: 914-723-6478

## Pradeep Parekh

Friends of India Society Int. 107 Creekside Dr.

Victoria" TX 77904

Phone: 512-572-8125 Fax: 512-572-8126

#### Surendra Parekh

President India Association of Kansas City 10308 Metcalf Avenue Suite 139 Overland Park KS 66212

Phone: 913-817-7788

Home Phone: 816-860-1045

### Jitesh Parikh

President
Navneet Gujrati Samaj of
Baltimore, Inc.
P -O.Box 687
Owing Mills, MD 21117
Phone: 410-876-0365

### Sharad P Parikh

Chairman

Mahatma Gandhi Center 717 Weidman Road

Ballwin, MO 63011

Phone: 314-256-8375

Home Phone: 314-831-4200

Fax: 314-831-7632

AltContact1: 314-846-1888

## Sudhir Parikh

Chairman

Greater Dallas Asian American

Association

5477 Glen Lakes Drive, Suite 2.

Dallas, TX 75231

Phone: 972-387-2929 Ext: 2324

Fax:972-239-7444

## Tapati Parvataneni

Bharatiya Temple 4114 Winterset Lane West Bloomfield MI 48323 Phone: 810-597-2742

#### Zaheer Parveez

President Hyderabad Alumni Association 10335 Royal Woods Court Montgomery Village, MD 20886 Phone: 301-208-1480

### Zaheer Parvez

President Hyderabad Association 10335 Royal Woods Ct Montgomery Village, MD 20886

Phone: 202-408-3637

Home Phone: 301-208-1480

Fax: 202-275-6649

Home Fax 301-947-7861

### Ravi Passi

President Elect Indian American Medical Association (IAMA) 9015 Shady Grove Court Gaithersburg, MD 20877 Phone: 301-587-5100

Alt Contact1: 301-527-1650

## A. J. Patel

Secretary

Indus Entrepreneurs Club 1180 Campbell Avenue

San Jose, CA 95126

Phone: 408-244-0444

Fax: 408-244-9878

#### Ankur Patel

President

Indian Students Association 450 S Old Dixie Highway

Suite #8

Jupiter, FL 33458

Phone: 561-747-4384

Home Phone: 561-747-8775

Fax: 561-747-5850

### Archana Patel

President

FOGANA

7504- A Davian Dr.

Annandale, VA 22203

Home Phone: 703-525-8979

### Archana Patel

Vice President NFIA

7504 Davian Drive

Annandale. VA 22003

Phone: 703-534-1000

Home Phone: 703-750-9192

Fax: 703-536-7763

#### Ashwin Patel

President

India Association of St Louis

10635 Page Avenue

St. Louis MO 63132

Phone: 314-423-9990

Fax: 314-423-0391

#### B. N. Patel

Cultural Festival of India

Houston Center 1150 Brand Lane

Stafford" TX 77477

## Bhagubhai Patel

President

Indo-American Cultural &

Religious Association

PO Box 82756

Phoenix, AZ 85071-2756

Phone: 480-897-1742

Fax: 480-524-9658

# Bhagubhai N Patel

President

Leuva Patidar Samaj of USA

196 Prince Royal Drive

Berea. KY 40403

Phone: 606-986-8426

Home Phone: 704-298-5519

Fax: 606-985-0404

Home Fax: 704-298-4739

## Bhailal Patel

President FIA

8846 N. Lavergne Avenue

Skokie, IL 60077

Phone: 708-384-2259

Home Phone: 708-677-9276

Fax: 708-677-9278

#### Bharat L Patel

President

Association of Indian Veterinari 12133 Queens Brigade Drive

Fairfax, VA 22030-5924

Phone: 202-720-0334

Home Phone: 703-222-5857

Fax: 703-222-5857

## Bhupendra Patel

President

Gujarati Mitra Mandal 15528 Peach Leaf Lane

Gaithersburg, MD 20878 Home Phone: 703-525-8979

Dalpata Ptael

Indian Association of South Jersey

RD #4 1173 Millard Way

Elmer, NJ 08318

Dhiraj Patel

President

Kala Bharati

2316 West Devon

Chicago, IL 60659

Phone: 773-973-4490

Home Phone: 847-677-5230

Dinesh Patel

President

BAPS-Shree Swaminarayan Mandir

Phone: 301-604-9769

Dinesh Patel

Head PR

Shri Swamy Narayan Temple MD

Phone: 410-332-4901

Fax: 410-332-4902

Girish Patel

Public Relations

Bochasanwasi Swaminarayan

43-38 Bowne Street

FlushinQ, NY 11355

Phone: 718-539-5373

Home Phone: 516-997-5798

Fax: 718-353-3411

Hari Patel

President

Gujarati Samaj of Houston Inc

P.O. Box 720733

Houston. TX 77272

Phone: 713-558-7788

Fax: 713-497-5357

Ms. Jayanti I.Patel

President

**FOGANA** 

12006 Long Brook

Drive Houston. TX 77099

Phone: 715-530-7139

JP Patel

President

India Cultural Society Of New

J PO Box 2184

Union, NJ 07083

Phone: 908-360-2059

Fax: 908-360-2545

#### Kiran C. Patel

Vice President

AAPI 6800 North Dale Mabry

Highway #268

Tampa, FL 33618

Phone: 813-290-6328

Fax: 813-290-6306

#### Kusum Patel

Gayatri Pariwar Yugnirman 8413 W North Terrace Niles. IL 60714-7712

Phone: 708-692-7712

#### Manhar Patel

Gujrati Samaj Of Sacremento 826 W. Capital Avenue West Sacremento, CA 95691

Phone: 916-372-2809

## N. D. Patel

President

Indian Dental Association

146-02, 89th Avenue

Jamica, NY 11435

Phone. 718-523-8438

## Nagin D Patel

President

India Business Association

48 Broadway Passaic, NJ 07055

Phone: 201-472-3711

Fax: 201-472-3474

### Natu Patel

Mandhata Samaj

President Best Holiday Inc

962, Riverview Road Rockhill, SC 29730

Phone: 803-328-2000

#### Navin Patel

President

Indian Cultural Ass Of The

South Bay

Phone: 415-359-4600

#### Nila Patel

President

Gujrati Cultural Ass. Of Bay Area

P.O.Box361181

Milpitas, CA 95036

Phone: 510-794-4742

#### Pravin Patel

President

Hindu Temple & Cultural Cente.

2516 Augusta Highway

West Columbia. SC 29169

Phone: 803-796-4833

Fax.803-796-4833

# Ramesh Patel

President

Gujrat Samaj Inc. Of Detroit

2135 Jonathan Drive

Phone: 810-795-1142

Home Phone: 810-264-5454

## Rati Patel

Chairman

FOGANA 5710, N. 4th Street

Arlington, VA 22205

Home phone: 703-525-8979

#### Sarla Patel

President

Council of Indn Orgns. 119 Cobblestone Court

Yardley, PA 19067

Phone: 215-321-0899

Fax: 215-321-3086

#### Suresh Patel

Chairman

Federation Of Indian Assc.

New Jersey

41 Boyd Avenue

Jersey City, NJ 07304

## Vipul Patel

President

Gujrati Samaj of Tennessee

Valley

106 Chickasaw Trail

Madison. AL 35758

Phone: 205-971-6864

### Prasanna K. Pati

India-US Friendship Ass Of Sa

1353 Heather Lane SE

Salem, OR 97302

Home Phone: 503-362-7426

### Sudeep Patnaik

President

Orissa Society of Americas 19054 Partridge Wood Drive

Germantown, MD 20874

Phone: 703-810-5467

Home Phone: 301-972-6883

Fax: 703-904-5798

#### Alaka Paul

Secretary

ASHA (Asian Womens'Self

Help Association).

8006 Thornley Court

Bethesda, MD 20817

Phone: 301-365-0146

Fax: 301-365-0146

#### Peter Paulose

Malayalee Association of Houst

12050 Green Glade

Houston. TX 77099

Phone: 713-498-6861

## Yogi Goswami

President

Indian American Political Affairs.

1648 SE 3rd Avenue

Ocala, FL 32671

Phone: 352-392-0812

Fax: 352-392-1071

# Aswathanarayana

Chairman

Council of Indian

Organisations

41, New Road

Tabernacle. NJ 08088

Phone: 610-644-2184

Home Phone: 609-268-7414

Fax: 610-725-8771

Home Fax: 609-268-5553

## Sachchida N Gupta

President

National Council of Asian India

10910 Silent Wood PI

N Potomac, MD 20878

Phone: 301-294-9550

Fax:301-294-1170

#### Sudhakar Rao Perela

President

India Association of Buffalo

P.O. Box 925

Williamsville, NY 14231-0925

Phone: 716-822-1115

## Dilip Amin

President

Indian Pharmacists'

Association

1440 Cartela Drive

La Mirada, CA 90638

Phone: 310-947-0643

## Nalini Sathiakumar,

President

Indian Cultaral Association of

Blvd...

The Univ of Alabama at

Birmingham

220A ryals building

1665 University Blvd

Birmingham, Alabama 35294-

0022

Phone: 205-934-1200

Fax: 205-975-7058

### Pretibon Philip

King/ Gandhi Foundation Inc 13905 Shannon Drive Silver Spring, MD 20904 Phone: 301-384-1003

Fax: 301-384-1003

#### Ann P. Pillai

FIA-NC, 9000 Acredale Ct.

College Park, MD 20740

Phone: 301-935-5321

## B Gopinadhan Pillai

President

Nair Benevolent Association Inc.

978 East 29 Street

Brooklyn, NY 11210

Phone: 718-273-0027

# Gopala Pillai

Ex-President

India Association of North Texas

777 S Central Expressway

Suite 7C

Richardson TX 75080

Phone: 214-234-4268

Home Phone: 214-492-9277

# Parthasarathy Pillai

President

NFIA

9000 Acredale Court

College Park, MD 20740

Phone: 301-504-5622

Home Phone: 301-935-5321

Fax: 301-935-2627

## Ms Prabhawati Pippalla

President

Greater Washington Telugu

Association.

86 West Deer Park Road #203

Gaithersburg, MD 20877

Phone: 301-963-0295

Fax: 202-806-6062

#### Sam Pitroda

Director

Rajiv Gandhi Foundation-worki.

Suite 218

600 Enterprise Drive

Oak Brook II 60521

Phone: 708-574-8146

Home Phone: 708-963-1453

Fax: 708-574-8150

Home Fax. 708-963-1486

### Shrikumar Poddar

President

India Foundation Inc.

3308 South Cedar #11

Lansing, MI 48910

Phone:517-393-0250

## Nari Pohani

Pohani Commercial Purchasin...

Phone: 212-279-8800 306

Fifth Avenue

New York, NY 10001

Phone: 212-279-8800

### Lester Pollack

President

Conference of Presidents,

Major Jewish Orgs

711, 3rd Ave (12th Floor)

New York, NY 10017

Phone: 212-983-4800

#### Dr Bishnu Poudel

National Secretary

National Indian American

Cha..

1155 Connecticut Avenue

NW Washington, DC 20036

Phone: 703-759-3954

Fax: 703-759-4027

Alt Contact1: 202-429-6588

#### Dr RD Prabhu

Past President

Indian American Forum for

Poli 2801 Alta

Las Vegas, NV 89107

Phone: 702-877-2559

Fax: 702-878-0731

Alt Contact 1: 702-877-9514

#### Mathur N. Prahlad

Member

India Association of St Louis

Building 31, room 4c02

Bethesda, MD 20892

Phone: 301-435-4618

Fax: 301-402-0548

### Dr. Vinod Prakash

President IDRF

5821 Mossrock Dr.

N. Bethesda, MD 20852

Phone: 301-984-2127

#### Dr. Vinod Prakash

Chairman

India Development & Relief Fu..

5821 Mossrock Drive

N. Bethesda, MD 20852-3238

Phone: 301-984-2127 Fax: 301-984-2127

Annakoot Prasad

BSS(Bochansanwasi Swamina 10 Deer Cross Court Reistertown. MD 21136 Phone: 202-544-4592

Alt Contact1: 410-526-6357

Dr. Chandrika Prasad

Executive Director American Society Of Engineers.

11101 Fruitwood Drive Bowie MD 20720-3536

Phone: 703-471-8383

Home Phone: 301-464-5042

Fax: 703-481-8296

Dr. Chandrika Prasad

President ASEI 1101 Fruitwood Drive Bowie, MD 20715 Phone: 410-636-3585

Home phone: 301-262-0254

Kasinadhuni M. Prasad

Past President American Telugu Association 28 Windswept Road Holmdel, NJ 07733 Phone: 908-949-0422

Dr. Potu Prasad

President AAPI North Central Florida 5606 W.Norvell Bryant Hwy Crvstal River. FL 34429 Phone: 904-795-9266

Rajendra Prasad

President
Bihar Ass of N. America
(BANA)
16611 Keith Harrow Blvd.
Houston, TX 77084
Phone: 281-505-8069

Dr. Rajendra Prasaad

Piyush Agarwaal's List-UP 668 N. San Antonio Rd Los Altos, CA-94022

S. Shobbha Prasad Sri Siva Vishnu Temple MD

Phone: 301-805-1690

Sister Pratima

Director Chicago Raja Yoga Center Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University 1609 Chase Avenue Chicago, IL 60626

Ben Paul

President Kerala Cultural Society of Metropolitan Washin 11422 Horse Soldier Place Beltsville, MD 20705 Phone: 301-595-9087

#### Dr. Om Sharrna

President

IAFPE- MD Chapter

12418 Poplar View Dr.

Bowie. MD 20720

Phone: 301-262-1239

## Dr. Pradeep Ganguly

President

M.K.K- USA

6799 Old Waterloo Rd # 533

Elkridge. MD 21075

Phone: 410-799-3230

### Raju Charles

President

India Forum for Liberty and

Justice. Inc,

P Box 5673 Takoma Park.O.

Elkridge, MD 20913

Phone: 301-434-2107

# Sampath Krishnan

President

Indian American Forum for

Political Education

8407 Paige Glen Ave

Springfield, VA 22152

Phone: 703-715-0501

### Shahi Prabhakaran

President

Kerala Associatio of Greater

Washington

15025 McKnew Rd.

Burtonsville, MD 20866

Phone: 301-549-1961

#### Sirit Sheth

President

Gujarath Smaj of Metro Washi...

9845 Lee Highway

Fairfax, VA 22030

Phone: 703-471-0345

#### Sarika Puniani

Vice President

Indian Students Association

1933 West Polk SRH 415

Chicago, IL 60612

Phone: 312-413-4250

## Sundar Punjabi

President

Friends of Indian Association

3302 Algona Circle

Las Vegas, NV 8912

Phone: 702-737-3945

## Prof. Joginder Puri

President

Sant Nirankari Mission

1 Bali Aavenue

Carpentersville, IL 60110

Phone: 847-428-8852

## Zia Quarishi

President

Indian Community Of Skokie

P.O.Box 423

Skokie, IL 60076

### Amira Qureshi

Muslim Student Network

60 Haven Avenue # 20A

New York. NY 10032-2605

Phone: 212-568-4454

## Agarwal Radhu MD

Us India Forum 935 William Pitt Way Pittsbura Penn 15238

## Dr. B. D. Raheja

President Vishwa Hindu Parishad, (Chica. 758 Lilac Way Lombard. IL 60148 Phone: 708-495-1628

#### Satish Rai

President Assc. of Indian Students P.O. Box 5582 Fargo, ND 58105

## Pillai Raj

Editor Community Magazine Lotus 6175 Som Center Road Suite 210 Solon Ohio 4413Q Phone: 216-248-4984 Home Phone: 301-935-5321 Fax: 216-249-3676 Alt Contact1' 301-935-4885

# Prof. Rishi Raj

Founder Society Of Indian Academics In America 86, Wortendyke Avenue Emerson N.J 07630 Phone: 201-262-2356

## K Rajadhyaksha

CEO

DLZ Corporation 6121 Huntley Road Columbus, OH 43229-1003

Phone: 614-888-0040

Fax: 614-436-0161

## Dr Chandrika Rajagopal

Chairperson
Indian Nationality Room
Commi
1209 Cathedral of Learning
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260-6271
Phone: 412-624-6150
Fax: 412-624-4214

## Ms. Hema Rajagopalan

Natya Kalalayam 620 Ridgewood Court Oakbrook, IL 60521

## Paul R Raja

President
Asian Indian Chamber of
Com.
21 Cortland Street
Suite 137
Ediison, NJ 08837
Phone: 908-548-7337
Home Phone: 908-283-1955

## Sharada Rajanna

Founder/President KRS Education & Rural Dvlpmt. PO Box 820932 Vicksburg, MS 39182

Phone: 601-877-3885

Fax: 601-638-5459

## Dr AM Rajendran

President

Tamil Nadu Foundation

1401 Crest Hill Court

Fallston, MD 21047

Phone: 410-877-7675

### Khemlani Rajesh

Secretary

Gandhi Memorial Association

619 Ernesto Cerra

Santurce, Puerto Rico 00807

Phone: 787-722-7606

## L. Rajgopal

Parle America Inc.

46-14, 54th Avenue

Maspeth, NY 11378

Phone: 718-392-3194

### Dr. Sunder Ram

President

Malayalee Association Of N.

C. 776 Lemos Lane

Fremont. CA 94539

Phone: 707-763-9911 Ext. 832

Home Phone: 707-778-6764

### JP Rama

Past Chairman

AAHOA (American Asian Hotel

3490 Piedmont Road

Suite 1218

Atlanta. GA 30305

Phone: 404-816-5759

Home Phone: 803-232-9944

Fax: 404-816-6260

#### Seetha V Ramaiah

Chairman

Kannada Sangha of Arizona

PO Box 24842

Tempe, AZ 85285-4852

Phone: 602-893-3991

Fax: 602-496-5651

## Aparna Ramakrishnan

Programme Director

South Asian Society

800 21 st Street NW

Suite 427

Washington, DC 20037

Phone: 202-994-9499

### B. Ramamurthy

NRI Club Of N. America

41-53, 76th Street

Elmhurst, NV. 11373

Phone: 718-476-9228

### Dr. B. V. Ramamurthy

President

AAPI, Baltimore

11706, Fairside Road

Ellicott City, MD 21043

#### Dr. K. Raman

43 Alderwood Drive

West Hartford, CT 06117

Phone: 203-233-5684

#### Vattikutti Ramesh

President

Indian Dance educators Associ

310 Lindenwood Drive

Houston, TX 77024

Phone: 609-292-2836

Home Phone: 713-791-2982

Fax: 713-791-3363

#### Dr. Thakor C. Rana

President

3184 Grand Concourse

Bronx NY 10458

Phone: 718-584-0555

Fax: 718-584-0793

## Dr Rangareddy MD

Past President

AAPI (American Assc. Of

Physi...

AAPI Executive Office

17W300 22nd Street Suite 250

Oakbrook Terrace, IL 60181-

4490

Phone: 630-530-2277

Home Phone: 217-788-3755

Fax: 630-530-2475

Home Fax: 217-788-5525

# Dr Krishna K Rao

President

India Culture Center of

Houston

2206 Hickory Park

Houston, TX 77345

Phone: 713-639-5464

Home Phone: 713-360-3100

Fax: 713-360-6500

# Niranjan Rao

President

The Hindu Society of

Northeast Florida

12728 Cormorant, Cove Lane

P.O. Box 57262

Jacksonville, FL 32223-2792

#### Sarala Rao MD

President 1998-99

Ameican Assn of Physicians of...

12835 Lucero Lane

Los Altos Hills, CA 94022

Phone: 408-277-1758

Home Phone: 650-941-5839

Home Fax: 650-941-8713

#### Surekha Rao

Chair, Board of Trustees

AAPI

368 Wilshire Drive

Phone: 734-326-5030

Fax: 734-326-3999

### Surekha Rao

CHair, Board of Trustees

**AAPI** 

368 Wilshire Drive

Bloomfield Hills, MI 48302

Phone: 734-326-5030

Fax: 734-326-3999

Alt Contact1: 615-883-0114

Alt Contact2: 615-872-0334

## Venkateswara R Rao

Coordinator

Pen Club of Washington

3091 Savoy Drive

email: penclubmail@yahoo.com

raov@dyncorp.com (office)

Fairfax, VA 22031

Phone: 703-461-2246 Ext: 1062

Home Phone: 703-281-4599

Fax: 703-548-4766

#### Dr Mahadev Ratnam

President

**FOINA** 

9022 Hamilton Drive

Fairfax, VA 22031

Phone: 703-352-9621

Fax: 703-352-3507

### Col PR Ratra

President

TOUCH

7820 Kachina Lane

Bethesda, MD 20817

# Singh Ravi

Chairman

American Society of Engineers

Atlanta, GA

Phone: 770-578-7109

Fax: 770-952-4212

## K.S. Ravindran

President

India Asso. of San Antonio

6511 Pemwoods

San Antonio, TX 78240

## Raman Ravishankar

President

Vindhya Cultural Association

6926 Blackhawk Ct

Dublin, OH 43017-2812

Phone: 614-466-5218

Home Phone: 614-7R4-0631

# Biswamay Ray MD

Coordinator

Pen Club of Chicago

403 Suffolk Lane

Oak Brook, IL 60523

Phone: 708-343-3122

Home Phone: 630-655-3269

Fax: 773-626-2613

### Mohan Ray

Prantik

10867 Beach Creek Dr

Columbia, MD 21044

Phone: 410-795-1031

### Mohan Ray

President

Prantik Inc

10867 Beech Creek Drive

Columbia, MD 21044

Phone: 410-995-1031

### Satya Ray

Chairman

Bay Area Prabasi Inc.

825 Dayton Court

Concord, CA 94518

Phone: 510-825-9433

#### Subash Razdan

Chairman

National Federation of Indian-A.

4059, Keswick Drive

Atlanta. GA 30339

Phone: 404-350-4984

Home Phone: 770-333-9781

Fax: 770-431-9353

#### Zahid Razvi

President

Urdu Academy of America,

Inc

PO Box 68294

Schaumburg, IL 60168

Phone: 773-465-8000

Fax: 773-465-0945

### Indu Jaiswal RD

President

Indian Association Of Long

Isla.

366 North Broadway

Suite 410

Jericho, NY 11753

Phone: 526-942-2021

## Haranath Reddy

Teleugu Cultural Society 6229 Cardinal Brooke Court Springfield, VA 22152

### Dr. Krishna Reddy

Founder Presidnet Indian American Friendship Co. 7910 Norwalk Blvd. Whittier, CA 90606 Phone: 310-699-0343

Home Phone: 310-697-8542

Fax: 310-699-1609

## Rajen Reddy

President

Indo-American Political Ass. Of

8391 Satinwood Circle

Westminster. CA 92683

Phone: 310-985-7560

Home Phone: 714-894-2608

# Ranga V. Reddy MD

Past President

AAPI (American Assc. Of Physi.

4720 White Deer, CT

17W300 22nd Street Suite 250

Springfield, IL 62707

Phone: 217-793-3517

Home Phone: 217-788-3755

Fax: 217-793-8618

Home Fax: 217-788-5525

### Misra Renuka

Past President

**FOINA** 

12106 Pawnee Dr.

email:KhanH@hd01.nichd.nih.gov

GaithersburQ, MD 20878

Phone: 301-330-5098

#### Misra Renuka

President Janki Ganju Foundati.

Rajiv Gandhi Foundation

11009 Petersborough Dr

Rockville. MD 20852

Home Phone: 713-541-0519

#### Misra Renuka

ICCC ACtivist

Rajiv Gandhi Foundation

12106 Pawnee Dr

Gaithersburg, MD 20878

Phone: 301-330-5098

Home Phone: 713-541-0519

#### Dr Shashi M Rishi

Past President

India Association of Greater

Gr.

1206 Three Bridges Rd

Easley, SC 29642

Phone: 803-250-8278

Home Phone: 803-269-4306

Fax: 803-250-8207

#### M Afzal Rizvi

President

Association of Indian Travel A..

President, Classy Travel & Tour

501 Fifth Avenue

Suite 807

New York. NY 10017

Phone: 212-490-2247

Home Phone: 201-676-1562

Fax: 212-490-2476

Home Fax: 201-672-3085

## Syed M Rizvi MD

President

Muslim Foundation Inc

22 Tomar Court

Bloomfield, NJ 07003-4014

Fax: 201-338-7696

## Dr Janine T Rodrigues-Saldanha

President

Indian American Forum for

Political Education

Associate Anesthesiologist

Harvard Medical School

243 Charles Street

Boston MA 02114

Phone: 617-573-3380

## Rup Singh Roopa

Secretary General

World Federation of Education

Phone: 908-563-4545

Fax: 908-563-4545

## Dr Girija N Roy

Chairman

Federation of Secular India, USA

6 Alton Way

Scotch Plains, NJ 07076

Phone: 908-753-8793

## Dr. Joydeb Roy

President

**IAFPE** 

319 Summit Hall Road

Gaithersburg, MD 20877

Phone: 301-897-0336

### Dr. Joydeb Roy

Ex President

IAFPE, Maryland Chapter

319, Summit Hall Road

Gaithersburg, MD 20877

Home Phone: 301-948-8069

Fax: 301-827-4351

Home Fax: 301-963-1637

### Prabal Roy

Member, Festival of India Progr. India Association of Charlotte 2401 Fernbank Dr Charlotte, NC 28226

Phone: 704-362-6504

Home Phone: 704-362-6505

# Prabir Roy

Past President Cultural Association of Bengal 101 Iden Avenue, Pehlam Manor New York, NY 10803 Phone: 516-626-1577

### Rabindra N. Roy

President
Friends of Hem Sheel Model S
2102 E Wayland
Springfield, MO 65804
Phone: 417-883-5502
Home Phone: 011-913-434373

## Tarun Roy

President
Bengali Shomity of Huntsville
1914 Waxleaf Green
Huntsville, AL 35803
Phone: 205-880-7697

## Chugh Navneet S

President India Association of St Louis PO Box 607 St Louis, MO 63006 Phone: 314-532-8473

#### S. Theresa Sabastian

270 First Avenue Suite 50 NAW York NY 10009 Phone: 212.529-8834 Alt Contact1: 908-577-0728

# Bhagabat C Sahu

Chairman
Hindu Cultural center of North
PO Box 12362
Huntsville, AL 35815
Phone: 205-771-7772
Home Phone: 205-233-3303

Fax: 205-230-2609

All Conlacl1: 205-233-4247

## Gopal Sahu

Past President Bihar Association of North America (BANA) 16611 Keith Harrow Blvd Houston, TX 77084 Phone: 713-463-6473

### Lalmama Sailo

Mizo Society Of America 7112West Park Drive Hvattsville. MD 20783

### Lal Sakhrani

President India Association of the Virgin I PO Box 1267 St Thomas, US Virgin Islands 00804-1267

Phone: 340-776-7756

Home Phone: 809-776-4229

Fax: 809-774-3090

### Ravi K. Sakhuja

Chair

IAFPE / Mass. Chapter

50 Turning Mill Road

Lexington, MA 02173

Phone: 617-622-1260

Home Phone: 617-861-6797

Fax: 617-861-6315

## Dr Ravinder K. Sakhuja

**IAFPE** 

APEX Enterprises

50 TUrning Mill Road

Lexington, MA 02173

Phone: 781-861-6797

Fax: 781-861-6315

### Dr. Koshy Samuel

Past President

Council Of Asian Indian Assc.

14907 Peach Orchard Road

Silver Spring, MD 20905

Phone: 301-384-2441

# Dr. Siddharth S Sanghvi

President

India League Of America

35040 Morlock

Livonia, MI 48152

Phone: 810-349-5012

Fax: 810-349-5011

## Mohan Saoji

President

APDSA/Ass of Physicians &

Dentists from S.Asia

290 Hibiscus Road

Castelberry, FL 32707

Phone: 407-331-8500

### Ashok Sapra

Chairman

Natl. Assc. Of Americans Of

Indian Descent

15 Haiden Lane

17th Street 71

New York. NY 10038

### Gopal Saraswat

President

American Friends of India

770 Little River Turnpike

Annandaie VA 22003

Phone: 703-560-0240

Home Phone: 301-262-0254

### Chitto Sarkar

President

Bengali Asso. of Greater

Chicago

418 Elm Tree Lane

Vernon Hills IL 60061

Home Phone. 708-680-7890

## Radha J Sarma

President

Telugu Association of

Southern California

1605 Glen Oaks Blvd Pasadena, CA 91105 Phone: 818-792-0073

### Dr. G.M. Sastry

Fax: 803-963-6435

President India Forum for Political Aware 104 Briarwood Drive Simpsonville, SC 29681 Phone: 803-963-6587 Home Phone: 803-967-8212

#### Dr Nalini Sathiakumar MD PhD

President
Indian Cultural Assc of Birming
3029 English Oaks Circle
Birmingham, AL 35226
Phone: 205-934-3719
Home Phone: 205-823-7629
Fax: 205-975-7058

## Dr Vinod Sawhney MD

Past President
AAPI (American Assc. Of Physi...
AAPI Executive Office
17W300 22nd Street Suite 250
Oakbrook Terrace, IL 60181-4490
Phone: 630-530-2277
Home Phone: 510-351-6424

Fax: 630-530-2475 Alt Contact1: 800-622-7499 Alt Contact2: 510-538-0219

# Dharendra Saxena Chairman, ASEI

ASEI

P.O. Box 6223

Phone: 863-648-5435

Home Phone: 217-788-3755 Home Fax: 217-788-5525

## Mohammed M. Sayeed

President ASIOA 2160 South First Ave. Maywood, IL 60153 Phone: 708-327-2472

Home Phone: 703-461-3785

Fax: 708-216-2813

### Dr. Vijay Sazawal

President Indo American Kashmir Forum 14015 Hartley Hall Place Darnestown, MD 20874-3344 Phone: 301-941-8377

Home Phone: 301-975-0755

Fax: 301-208-0743

Alt Contact1: 301-986-8585

## Vijay Sazawal

President Indo-American Kashmir Forum 14015 Hartley Hall Place Darnestown, MD 20874 Phone. 301-941-8377

### Seema Sehgal

Co-executive Trustee Vedic Heritage Inc 111 Jerusalem Avenue Hempstead, NY 1150 Phone: 516-483-9500 Fax: 516-483-1078

## Dr Dilip K Sen

Past President India Assc. Of Virginia & VCU 12804 Gloria Court Richmond, VA 23831

Phone: 804-289-4627 Fax: 804-287-4309

#### Lalita Sen

Tagore Society of Houston 7803 Dal Ray Houston, TX 77071 Phone: 713-527-7443

Home Phone: 713-541-0519

Fax: 713-779-8728

## Sam Sengupta

President
India Association Of
Oklahoma
14817 Brasswood Blvd.
Edmond, OK73013
Phone: 405-840-9325
Fax.405-840-4007

## Dr. Janak Seth

Committee Member American Assc of Indian Profe. 3412 Lake Trail Drive Metairie. LA 70003 Phone: 504-834-0505 Home Phone: 504-455-6809

Fax: 504-455-9903

### N. Sethi

Cotton Express Inc. 1407 Broadway #1808 New York. NY 10018 Phone: 212-921-4588

## Joan Shack

President Sri Sarada Society PO Box 254 Selkirk, NY 12158

Phone: 518-767-3532 Fax: 518-767-2546

Alt Contact1: 518-767-2546

#### Arvind Shah

President Hindu Society of North Carolina 309 Aviation Parkway Morrisville. NC 27560 Phone: 919-481-2574

#### B.P. Shah

President Alumini of Baroda University 1428 Chilton Dr. Silver Spring, MD 20904 Phone: 301-384-4090

## Dr. B. P. Shah

Chair Alumni Of Baroda University 1428 Chilton Drive Silver Spring, MD 20904 Phone: 301-384-4090 Fax: 301-585-7937

## B.P. Shah

President India House of Worship 1428 Chilton Dr. Silver Spring, MD 20904

Phone: 301-384-4090

## Bhupen Shah

President Jain Society Of Chicago 9858 N. Kedvale Skokie, IL 60076

# Dhiraj H Shah

President

Federation of Jain Associations

PO Box 700

Getzville NY 14068

Phone: 716-775-0268

Fax: 716-285-2802

All Conlacl2: 716-636-5342

#### Dinesh O Shah PhD

Secretary

**ICEC** 

2615 NW 21 st Street

Gainesville, FL 32605

Phone: 35552-378-3242

Alt Contact1: 904-378-3242

### Dr .Dinesh O. Shah

Director

India Cultural & Education

Center

425 Chemical Engineering

University Of Florida

Gainesville, FL 33309

#### Harilal G. Shah

President

Jain Center Of Nothern

California

32872 Bluebird Loop

Freemont, CA 94555

Phone: 510-487-9380

## Ms. Jasmine Shah

President

Gujrati Assc. Of New England Inc.

Phone: 603-889-3783

### Jatindar P Shah MD

Chairman

Association of Indians in Ameri..

10004 Kennerly Road Suite 360

St Louis, MO 63128

Phone: 314-849-2735

Home Phone: 314-576-4215

Fax: 314-849-2736

#### Kamlesh Shah

President

Jain Society of Metropolitan W.

11409 Berland Place

Germantown, MD 20876

Phone: 301-236-4466

Home Phone: 301-353-0481

Home Fax: 301-916-4446

### Manesh Shah

General Chemical Corp.

13300 Foley Detroit, MI 48227

Phone: 313-491-0355

Fax: 313-491-8545

## Nalini Shah

President

Association of Indians in America

1 MacLean Drive

Brookville. NY 11545

Phone: 516-626-3766

Fax: 516-626-2453

#### Narendra Shah

Kala Niketan

4607 Barbara Drive

Beltsville. MD 20783

Phone: 301-937-8569

#### Dr Navin C Shah

Past President

**AAPI** 

4404 Quensberry Road, Suite 240

#### Riverdale. MD 20737

Phone: 301-699-3192

Fax: 301-779-0082

### Nealesh D Shah

President

South Asian Students Alliance

PO Box 442

3741 Walnut Street

Philadelphia, PA 19104

Phone: 215-386-7272

Fax: 215-243-0477

## Niranjan S Shah

Federation of Indian

Associations

300 South Wacker Drive,

Suite...

Chicago, IL 60606

Phone: 312-922-6400

Fax: 312-922-3006

## Rajiv Shah

Chairman

Indian American Political

Awar.

PO Box 2070

Philadelphia, PA 19103

Phone: 215-587-4778

#### Ramesh M Shah

Regional Representative

Indo-American Chamber of Co.

7742 MoIler Road

Indianapolis, IN 46268-5105

Phone: 317-872-0760

Fax: 317-872-0796

Alt Contact1: 800-527-7272

#### Sharadkumar S Shah

President & Trustee

Share & Care Foundation

330 Momar Drive

Ramsev. NJ 07446

Phone: 201-825-0667

## Dr. (s) Teju Shah

Indian Medical Assc. Of New E.

21 Lovett Road

Newton Center, MA 02159

Phone: 617-861-7026

Fax: 617-385-9293

### Mona Shahab

Sir Mohammed Iqbal

Foundatio..

11849 Clarkesville Pike

Clarksville MD 21029

Phone: 410-531-6733

## Dr. Begum Fatima Shahnaz

President

India Peace Organization

1173-A Second Avenue

Suite 130 New York. NY 10021

Phone: 212-838-0316

#### Dr. Abdul Shaikh

Former General Secretary

**IAFPE** 

9402 Wareham Court

Vienna, VA 22180

Phone: 202-482-1619

Home Phone: 703-938-3932

Fax: 202-482-3968

### Prem Shanmuguvelu

Associate Director

**IACPA** 

1275 K StNw Suite 810

Washington, DC 20005

Phone: 202-289-3654

Fax: 202-347-7750

### Dr. Sharadananda

Vishwa Hindu Parishad

301 Saybrook View Drive

Gaithersburg, MD 20877

Phone: 301-670-9429

### Jamal Shareef

President & CEO

Infrastructure Development Gr

118 S Westshore Blvd #315

Tampa. FL 33609

Phone: 813-251-1920

Fax: 813-662-9311

#### Anil Sharma

President

AlA Illinois Chapter

Phone: 708-301-0990

Fax: 708-301-0988

#### Bhu Dev Sharma

President

World Association for Vedic St

Department of Mathematics

Xavier University

New Orleans LA 70125

Phone: 504-483-7463

Home Phone: 504-454-6348

Fax: 505-485-7928

## Kapil Sharma

**NETSAP** 

P.O. Box 58173

Washington, DC 20037

### Dr. Om Sharma

President

Forum for Secular India

12418 Poplar View Dr.

Bowie MD 20720

Home Phone: 703-525-8979

### Om Sharma

**IAFPE** 

Maryland

Phone: 301-262-7239

## Sangeeta Sharma, Ph.D

Regional Director and Board of

Rural Coalition

1411 K Street

NW, Suite 901

Washington, DC 20005

Phone: 202-628-7160

Fax: 202-628-7165

## Shyam Sharma

Convenor

International Hindi

Association NJ

Phone: 508-829-9946

Home Phone: 315-343-3583

#### Sam Sharma

President

Indian American Federation of

104 Leslie Drive

Monroeville, PA 15146

Phone: 412-471-4680

Home Phone: 412-856-9560

Fax: 412-391-9249

### Sonia Sharma

Vice President

Raksha PO box 12337

Atlanta, GA 30355

Phone: 404-687-9707

Fax: 404-7273793

### S. Jyothi Shastri

Indo-Amer Cultural Assc. of

P.O.Box 358

Dobbs Ferry, NY 10522

Phone: 914-961-3620

### Shankar Shastri

President

Sangama Indian Assc. of St. Louis

Phone: 314-458-9545

## Dr. Jaya Shekhar

President

IAPF/Indo-American

Physicians Forum

2554 Blanding Blvd.

Suite M Middleburg, FL 32068

Phone: 904-282-9377

## Narasimha B. Shenoy

Executive Vice President

**NFIA** 

25 Mill Lane

Frazer, PA 19355

Phone: 610-630-9110

Home Phone: 610-644-2184

Fax: 610-644-3938

#### Dinesh Sheth

Trustee

Gujarati Samaj of Metro

Washi...

14617 Orangewood Street

Silver Spring, MD 20905

All Conlacl1. 301-664-4181

Phone: 301-384-2918

Fax: 301-384-4090

# Kirit Sheth

President

Gujarati Samaj of

Metropolitan 3650

Phone: 703-471-0345

Home Phone: 301-924-0322

Fax: 703-471-6929

## Shankar Shetty

Director

Indo-US Gateway Friendship c.

875 Avenue of Americas

New York. NY 10001

Phone: 212-563-8013

Fax: 800-468-5736

#### SAMPAT S. SHIVANGI. MD

Regional Director and Board of

**AAPI** 

23 Moss Forest Circle

Jackson. MS39211

Phone: 601-956-2301

Fax: 601-956-2625

#### Kersi Shroff

President

Zoroastrian Assc of Metro Wa..

7612 Timbercrest Drive

Derwood, MD 20855

Phone: 301-670-1203

Fax: 202-707-1820

## Dr Muzammil H Siddiqi

President

The Islamic Society Of North A.

2709 S Center Street

Plainfield, IN 46168

Phone: 317-839-8157

Home phone: 714-531-1722

Fax: 317 -839-1840

Home Fax: 714-965-7562

## Shahid Siddiqi

W Paul Stilman School of Business Associate Prof. Of Marketing & Inti. Business

W.Paul Stillman School Of Busi

Seton Hall University

South Orange, NJ 07079-2692

## Dr Dastagir Siddiqui

General Secretary

CCIM (Consultative

Committee..

5701 North Sheridan Road

Suite 4H

Chicago, IL 60660

Phone: 312-480-7740

Fax: 312-784-2703

Alt Contact1: 312-357-3934

## Dr. Bhupinder Singh

Chairman

The Sikh Association of

Baltimore, Inc. P.O.Box 442

Randallstown. MD 21133

Phone: 410-785-9620

## Hardayal Singh

President

Federation Of Indian Assc. Of NJ

41 Boyd Avenue

Jersey Street, NJ 07304

Home Phone. 201-333-8120

## Inder Singh

Past Chairman NFIA

3818 Gleneagles Drive

Tarzana, CA 91356

Phone: 213-240-3138

Home Phone: 818-708-3885

Fax: 818-996-4433

## S. Manju Singh

**RANA** 

5502 Thorn Bush Court

Bethesda, MD 20814

Phone: 301-897-8336

## Dr Prem Singh

27 Briarwood Road

Lincoln, RI 02865

Phone: 401-334-5194

Fax: 401-334-4778

## Prithvi Raj Singh

President

Federation of Hindu Association

11821 Artesia Blvd, Suite 172

Artesia, CA 90701-4002

Phone: 626-444-5670

Fax: 626-444-5652

## Rajender Singh

President

Pinky's Originals 1407 Broadway

New York, NY 10018

Phone: 212-391-1169

## Dr. Ram Singh

President IAFPE VA Chapter

BHU Alumni Association

Phone: 202-219-2025

## Dr. Ram Singh

President

Gayatri Pariwar USA

11121 Glade Dr.

Reston. VA 22091

Phone.703-758-0232

## Dr. Ram Singh

President

IAFPE 11121 Glade Dr.

Reston. VA 22091

Phone.703-758-0232

## Dr Ram Singh

Ex President

IAFPE-VA Chapter

11121 Glade Drive

Reston, VA 22091

Phone.703-758-0232

### Urvashi Singh

Lake Victoria Free Trade Zone

PO Box 0155

Fairfax Station, VA 22039

Phone: 703-359-8917

Fax: 703-359-8918

## Dr Vidyanand Singh

President

Bihar Chamber of Commerce i.

8817, Old Dominion Drive

Mclean, VA 22102

Phone: 703-237-8226

Home Phone: 703-759-4596

Fax: 703-237-0908

Alt Contact1: 703-447-2424

### Naba Singha

Nritya Rangam

4216 Underwood Street

University Park, MD 20782

### Rev Dr JB Singha

Executive Director

South Asian Family Sevice Inc

1343 W Devon Avenue

Chicago, IL 60660

Phone: 773-761-5119

Fax: 773-761-5193

Alt Contact1: 773-274-1523

## Ms Asha Singhal

President

The Club of Indian Women

PO Box 70

Westmont, IL 60559

Phone: 312-334-0173

Home Phone: 630-323-9612

### Shruti Singhal

President

Philadelphia Chapter NetSIP

Henkel Corporation

Coatings & Inks Division

300 Brookside Avenue

Ambler, PA 19002-3498

Phone: 215-628-1134

Fax: 215-628-1111

### Dhrita K Sinha

President

North American Manipur

Association

PO Box No 20318

Greeley Square Station

New York, NY 10001-9994

## Kaushal K Sinha MD

**CEO** 

Encyclopaedia of Hinduism & I... 110 East Medical Lane, Suite, 1... West Columbia SC 29169 Phone: 803-791-8000

Fax: 803-939-0668

Home Fax: 803-777-1176

#### Nirmal Sinha

President

Asian Indian American

Busines.

6470 Meadow Brook

Circle Worthinoton. OH

43085

Phone: 614-223-2989

Home Phone: 614-846-4638

### Kemp Sonnappa

Karnataka Association

Phone: 504-643-4028

## Sriram Sonty MD

President

Sonty Renaissance Internation...

3042 Carmel Drive

Flossmoor, IL 60422

Phone: 708-957-4302

Fax: 708-957-4357

# Lekha Sreenivasan

President

Karuna Charities

6001 Shady Oak Lane

Bethesda, MD 20817

Phone: 301-229-2085

## Sreenath Sreenivasan SAJA

South Asian Journalists

Association

2950 Broadway

New York. NY 10027

Phone: 212-854-5979

Dr. T. Srikantaiah

Sahara

6506 Wilmet Rd.

Bethesda, MD 20814

Phone. 301-530-4511

Krishna Srinivas

**IAFPE** 

111 Aiken Place

Dallas, GA 30132

Phone: 770-443-4300

Fax: 770-445-6600

S. Lekha Sriniyasan

Javapur Univ. Alumini Associat.

6001 Shady Oak Lane

Bethesda. MD 20817

Phone: 301-229-2085

T. Srislandarajan

Murugan Temple

VA

Phone: 703-361-6705

Dr. Sheonath Srivastave

817 Franklin Street

Johnson, PA 15901

Phone: 814-535-7193

Home Phone: 814-266-8170

Fax: 814-266-9399

Sushil Srivastava

BHU Alumni Association

Phone: 732-519-2273

E. H. Stephen

. President

P.O.Box 540

Elmont. NY 11003

P Subramani

Chairman

Indo-American Political

League

Regent Drive

Oak Brook, IL 60523

Phone: 630-897-9215

Fax: 630-887-9876 53

Suraj Sukumaran

**Executive Coordinator** 

Southern Asian Adventists of

North America

Micsaana

PO Box # 7772

Hyattsville, md 20787-2624

Phone: 301-445-7557

Altaf Sulaiman

President

India Cultural Association of Ea...

PO Box 92

Auburn, AL 36831

Phone: 334-742-0077

Home Phone: 334-741-0040

Fax: 334-742-9277

Alt Contact1: 334-704-7048

Dr. Najma Sultana

Past President

American Federation of Muslim.

176-20 Henly Road

Jamaica, NY 11432

Phone: 718-739-5778

Home Phone: 718-658-2687

#### Prof D Sundararaman

Director

Kanchi Kamakoti Seva

Foundat.

3206 Cherry Mill Drive

Phone: 301-937-3083

Fax: 703-803-9389

#### Dr. Rabinder R. Surakanti

President

Assc. Of Indian Physicians In IN

1704 Lafayette Road

Crawfordsville, IN 46933

Phone: 317-364-1252

Home Phone: 317-364-1716

Fax: 317-354-6726

### Ramesh Surati

Chairman

AAHOA (American Asian

Hotel

3490 Piedmont Road

Suite 1218

Atlanta. GA 30305

Phone: 404-816-5759

Fax: 404-816-6260

Alt Contact1: 615-883-0114

Alt Contact2: 615-872-0334

#### Marvin Suval

President

Anada Ashram

Yoga Society of New York Inc

RD 3, Box 141

Sapphire Road

Monroe, NY 10950

Phone: 914-782-5575

Fax. 914-774-7368

#### Desai Suvash

Llason with Indian Embassy

**AAPI** 

email drnavinshah@

hotmail.com

Phone: 606-623-0202

#### Dr .S.Swaminathan

Past Chairman

India Forum

1011 W.Wellington Avenue

Chicago, IL 60657

Phone: 312-883-0200

Home Phone: 708-887-1836

Fax: 312-883-0090

# Nandini Tandon PhD

USA Chair

IndUS Setu Foundation

Chiron Corporation

4560 Horton Street

Emeryville, CA 94608-4068

Phone: 510-923-4068

Home Phone: 510-733-5432

Fax: 510-923-2188

Home Fax. 510-733-5432

### Dr Narendra Tandon

International Hindi

Association

Phone: 301-424-9055

#### Som N Tandon MD

Public Relations Coordinator

Mukti PO Box 42117

Cincinnati, OH 45242-0117

Phone: 513-489-5721

Home Phone: 513-861-6017

Fax. 513-459-8850

Alt Contact1: 513-791-7300

# Dr Raj Tanna

Chairman

Indo-American Political and

Economic Forum

PO Box 814269

Dallas, Texas 75381

Phone: 817-292-6960

# Dr. Vasanth Telang

Washington Director

AlA (Ass. of Indians in America)

3105 BeavenNood Lane

Silver Spring, MD 20906

Phone: 202-806-6530

Home Phone: 301-460-7090

# S. Chaula Thackrar

Chaula Devi Institute Of Dance 30362 Southfield MI 48076

Phone: 313-642-5792

Home Phone: 313-642-6663

### Kamal Thakofe

President

Gujarati Samaj of Metro Washington

4313 Morningeood Dr.

Olnev MD 20832

AltContact1: 301-664-4181

#### Himendra Thakur

Chair

Internatl Soc Against Dowry &

PO Box 8766

Salem, MA 01971

Phone: 978-546-7354

Fax: 978-546-6981

# Dr. Kishore Thampy

President

Indo-American Democratic Org

3712N. Broadway

Chicago, IL 60613

Phone: 312-427-7677

Fax: 312-427-6287

AltContact1: 312-427-7676

### Dr. Nirwan Thaper

Assc. Of Indian Veterinarians I.

841 Meadow Heights Lane

Arnold, MD 21012

Phone: 410-647-7757

### CT Thomas

President

The Kerala Catholic Assn of

Staten Island PO Box 141195

Staten Island, NY 10314

Phone: 718-761-7097

## Daniel P Thomas

President

Malayalee Asoociation of Great.

Box 217

Richboro. PA 18954

Phone: 215-953-1799

Fax: 215-953-9187

Alt Contact1: 215-289-7986 Alt Contact2: 215-953-9187

### Dr Ram Thukkaram

President/ Executive Director Golf Association 3346 Commercial Avenue Northbrook, IL 60062

Phone: 847-559-1395 Fax: 847-559-1398

### Rev Dr Solomon J Tivade

Pastor

All Denominationas Christian A. 217 Ocean Avenue Jersey City, NJ 07305

Phone: 201-433-7803

Home Phone: 973-635-7712

#### Shekhar Tiwari

Overseas Friends of the BJP 12716 Magna Carta Road Herndon, VA 22071 Phone: 703-620-2927 Home Phone: 301-571-9426 All Conlacl1: 703-758-9630

Vipin K Tripathi

Convenor Sadbhav Mission 12406 Hillmeade Staion Drive Bowie, MD 20720 Phone: 301-405-1495

Home Phone: 301-464-5139

### Harish Trivedi

Chairman India Foundation of Dayton. Inc.

895 Kentshire Drive

Dayton, Ohio 45459

Phone: 937-433-4879

Fax: 937-433-4879

### Chandrakant S Trivedi, MS

President

Federation Of Indian

Associatio...

32-75 Steinway Street, Suite 208

Astoria. NY 11103

Phone: 718-932-3240

Home Phone: 732-463-3471

Fax: 718-626-3516

Alt Contact2' 732-463-5878

#### Kirit Udeshi

Managing Trustee Gujarati Samaj 9105 Hunting Pines Place Fairfax, VA 22032

Phone: 703-918-5571

Home Phone: 703-978-3991

Fax: 703-978-3991

Alt Contact1: 703-759-8961

## Radharaman D Upadhyaya

The World Spiritual Fulfilment 93-04 210 Place

Queens Village, NY 11428

Phone: 718-465-3953

Home Phone: 516-775-1389

Fax: 718-465-3953

## Dr. Lal Uterja

President

Huntsville India Association

196 Robins Road

Harvest. AL 35749

Phone: 205-721-6623

Home Phone: 205-859-6105

Fax: 205-830-4093

# Jagdish Vadhar

President

Gujrati Samaj of New Orleans

Phone: 504-443-1560

## Govind R Vaghashia

President

Southern CA Indian Hotel/

Mote

2943 Olney Place

Burbank Hills, CA 91504

Phone: 818-846-7801

Home Phone: 818-782-0406

### Dr Prabodh K Vaid

President

ANA (Asscn. of Indian

Veterin...

13200 Georgia Avenue

Silver Spring, MD 20906

Phone: 301-933-6033

Ext: 6034

Home Phone: 301-933-0969

### Sebastin Valley

President

Kerala Assc. of Greater

Orlando

6573 Hidden Beach Circle

Orlando, FL 32819

Phone: 407-293-3860

#### Atmaram Varavadekar

President

Indian American Forum

2747 Hunter's Bluff

Bloomfield Hills, MI 48304

Phone: 810-357-8976

Fax: 810-352-3713

#### Atmaram Varavedekar

President

Indian-American Forum for

Poli..

2747 Hunters Bluff

Bloomfield Hills. MI 48304

Phone: 810-356-9778

Home Phone: 810-338-4217

Alt Contact1: 810-357-9876

## Abraham Varghese

President

Bergen County Malayalee

Christian Fellowship

PO Box 5304

Bergenfield, NJ 07621

## I Varghese

President

Kerala Association of Dallas

Inc

PO Box 28563

Dallas. TX 75228-0563

Phone: 972-279-7601

Home Phone: 972-686-8774

# Issac P. Varughese

President

Kerala Association of New Engl

47 Eldred St,

Lexington, MA 02173

Phone: 508-339-9800

Home Phone: 508-543-4104

Fax: 508-339-6311

#### Haresh Vaswani

Shalini Originals

131 West 35th Street (3rd

Floor)

New York. NY 10001

Phone: 212-594-8200

#### Ramesh Vattikuti

President

**IDEA** 

836 Mackal Ave. McLean

VA 22101

## Ramesh Vattikuti

Chairman

India Dance Society

4885 North Old Dominion

Drive

Arlington, VA 22207

Phone: 301-240-3303

Home Phone: 703-790-5856

Fax: 703-790-5856

Alt Contact1: 301-670-5327

Alt Contact2: 301-948-7174

### Prof. Ved Vatuk

Coalition Against Communalism

Grizzley Peak

Berkeley, CA 94708

Phone: 510-527-7981 545

## Dr Dilip Vedalankar

Minister of Religion

Arya Samaj Greater Houston

14405 Riobonito # 509

Houston, TX 77083

Phone: 281-879-9611

Fax.281-879-9611

## Krishna M. Vempaty

President

Indian Lawyers Assc.

1123 Broadway

Suite 302

New York, NY10010-2007 ...

Phone: 212-242-3333

#### Vinod Verma

Coordinator Cultural Events

India Forum Inc of Baltimore

7, Skylark Court

Baltimore, MD 21234

Phone: 410-337 -7170

Home Phone. 410-661-3932

## Ms Harriet Vidyasagar

Out of India

5003 Danbury Court

Bethesda, MD 20814-2816

Phone. 301-564-1882

Fax: 301-564-4351

## Elythamby Vignarajah

President

Tamil Sangam Of Metro Washi...

6804 Upper Mills Circle Ellicot Mills, MD 21228

Phone: 410-788-7251 Fax: 410-788-7251

### Ms. Meera Vijan

ASEI 7025 Lakemont Circle

Phone: 810-362-2738

## Ms Vijayalakshmi, KM

President

Kaveri (Kannada Cultural Association) 7100 Megan Lane Greenbelt, MD 20770 Phone: 301-345-6361

### Dr MS Vijayaraghavan

Blue-Grass Indo-American Civi... 1401 Harrodsburg Road, Suite A410 Lexington, KY 40504-3751

Phone: 606-278-2378

### Rama Vittal

President Kannada Koota of N. California 15265 Montalvo Heights Court Saratoga, CA 95070 Phone: 408-741-1215

### Ashok Vora

Shanti Fund Medford, NY 11763-0554 Phone: 718-478-4588 PO Box 554

#### Ms Purnima Voria

President India Association Of Colorado PO Box 280626

Lakewood, CO 80228-0626

Phone: 303-273-9337

Alt Contact2: 303-430-8686

#### Pran Wahi

Chairperson People for Progress in India PO Box 51231 Seattle, WA 98115-1231 Phone: 206-232-8619

#### Lalit Wanchoo

President Kashmir Overseas Association 4302 Rockport Lane Bowie, MD 20720 Phone: 301-262-7743

### Lalit Wanchoo

Kashmir Overseas Association 4302 Rockport Lane Bowie, MD 20720

## S Sheila Watumull

Watumull Foundation 2051Young Street PO Box 15638 Honolulu, HI 96815

Phone: 808-947-2618

Home Phone: 808-732-7692

Fax: 808-947-2610

#### Edward J Willett, Jr

President Friends of India-Peace Corps

PO Box 5103

Arlington, VA 22205-0103

Phone: 703-237-5260 Fax: 703-237-7479

# J. John (Sunny) Wycliffe

Thiruvananthauram Uni 9716 Anita Lane McKinney Drive Seabrook, MD 20706

Home Phone: 217-788-3755 Home Fax: 217-788-5525

### John Wycliffe

Vice Chairman FOKANA 9716 Anita Lane Sea Brook, MD 20706 Alt Contact2: 301-680-6090

Phone: 301-680-5023

Home Phone: 301-306-8992

Fax: 301-306-8992

#### Dr. Kesaya Rao Yalamanchili

Indo-US Biomedical Research 6511 Pemwoods San Antonio, TX 78240 Phone: 718-816-8200 Fax: 718-643-1440

Alt Contact: 718-624-6495

#### Nooruddin Yamani

Amilsaheb Anjuman-e-Shujaee, Houston Inc 6010 Shady Manor Drive Katy, TX 7749-8424

Phone: 713-855-8678

Fax: 713-855-1212

#### Dr George K Zachariah

Convenor, Dedication

Committee

Mar Thoma Church of

Greater Washington

322 Ethan Allen Aveue

Takoma Park, MD 20912

Phone: 301-891-1633

#### Jeevan Zutshi

Indo-American Kashmir

Forum

719 Boar Circle

Fremont, CA 94539

Phone: 510-623-8593

Home Phone: 510-623-9829

Fax: 510-623-8593

Alt Contact1: 510-505-8323

#### Surinder Zutshi

Editor-Publisher

Asia Observer

146 West 29th Street, 5th

Floor

New York, NY 10001

Phone: 212-239-1051

Fax: 212-239-1057

#### Ms. Anasuya (Anna) Prasad

President

Fedn, of Indo-American Assns

8682 Hudson River Circle

Fountain Valley, CA 92708

Phone: 714-964-7763

Home Phone: 714-964-7743

Fax: 714-968-9865

Home Fax: 714-964-8678

## Indian American Center for Political Awareness

1275 K Street, NW / Suite 810 Washington, DC 20005 Phone: 202-289-3654

# Indian American Kerala Cultural & Civic Center

1824 Fairfax Street Elmont, NY 11003 Phone: 516-358-2000

### Kerala Samajam of Greater New York

1527 Lowell Avenue New Hyde Park, New York 11040

#### Asha for Education

P.O. Box 322 New York, NY 10040-0322

# Network of Indian Professionals-New York

P.O. Box 3165 New York, NY 10463-3165

# Sikh Women's International Organization

230Central Park, South Suite 2 F New York, NY 10019 Phone: (212)246-3381

### Westchester Malayalee Association, Inc. P.O. Box 1739

New Rochelle, NY 10802

# Associations of Indians in America

68-15 Central Avenue Glendale, NY 11385

# India Association Of Phoenix

P.O. Box 60121 Phoenix, AZ 85082 Phone: (602) 961-3289

# The IndUS Entrepreneurs

TiE Silicon Valley 3065 Democracy Way Santa Clara, CA 95054 Phone: (408) 567-0700

## Indo-American Cultural Center

18782 Pinto Lane Santa Ana, CA 92705-2280 Phone: (714) 832-3463

# Bay Area Tamil Manram

2667, Cropley Avenue #101 San Jose, CA 95132

#### Bihar Samaj

P.O. Box 21223 San Jose CA 95151 Phone: 925-846-3744

# Bay Area Telugu Association

39120 Argonaut Way, # 555 Fremont, CA 94538

#### Punjabi Cultural Association

45033 Cougar Circle Fremont, CA 94539 Phone: 510-770 1404

#### Sindhi Association of America

P.O. Box 7598 Fremont CA 94537 Phone: 650-345-3663

#### Basant Bahar

3874 Louis Rd., Palo Alto, CA 94303 Phone: (650)494-0588

## Asian Indian Seniors Association

P.O.Box 4158 Fullerton, CA 92834 Phone: (714) 879-3986

# India Association of Talahassee,

P. O. Box 12111, Tallahassee, FL 32317-2111

# Kerala Association of Los Angeles

P.O. Box 4761 Chatsworth, CA - 91313-4761

#### The IndUS Entrepreneurs

TiE Silicon Valley
3065 Democracy Way
Santa Clara, CA 95054
Phone: (408) 567-0700

# Indo American Democratic Organization

P O Box 597649

Chicago, IL 60659 iado@iado.org

# Indo-American Cultural Center

18782 Pinto Lane

#### Santa Ana, CA 92705-2280

Phone: (714) 832-3463

# Indo American Democratic

Organization

P O Boxd 597649 Chicago, IL 60659 iado@iado.org

#### Indo-American Cultural Center

18782 Pinto Lane Santa Ana, CA 92705-2280 Phone: (714) 832-3463

#### Asian Indian Seniors Association

P.O.Box 4158 Fullerton, CA 92834 Phone: (714) 879-3986

# Indo American Democratic Organization

P O Boxd 597649 Chicago, IL 60659 iado@iado.org

#### Basant Bahar

3874 Louis Rd., Palo Alto, CA 94303 Phone: (650)494-0588 (408)296-4353, (408)946-2946, (510) 651-6386

# Tamil Sangam of MetropolitanWashington & Baltimore, Inc.

8809 Waxwing Terrace, Gaithersburg, MD 20879 USA

# Association for India's Development PO Box 149 College Park, MD 20741

# Tamil Sangam of MetropolitanWashington & Baltimore, Inc. 8809 Waxwing Terrace, Gaithersburg,

MD 20879 USA

# Asian Indian Chamber of Commerce

P.O. Box 129 Iselin, NJ 08830

Phone: (732) 283-4141 Fax: (732) 283-5115

# Indian Business Association

1412 Oak Tree Road Iselin, NJ Phone: (732) 283-1234

# Indo American Cultural Society

1412 Oak Tree Rd Iselin, NJ

Phone: (732) 283-9696

# India Association of Greater Boston

P.O. Box 1345 Burlington, MA 01803 Tel: (617) 547-7857

# India Association of Greater Boston

P.O. Box 1345 Burlington, MA 01803 Tel: (617) 547-7857

# Indian Community Center 504 W. 24th Street, Box # 101 Austin, Texas 78705

#### Network of Indian Professionals

NetIP-Austin P. O. Box 16482 Austin, TX 74761

## Indian Association of North Texas

777 S. Central Expressway, Suite 7C Richardson, TX 75080 Phone: (972) 234-IANT

# Indian American Kerala Cultural & Civic Center

1824 Fairfax Street Elmont, NY 11003 Phone: 516-358-2000

# Kerala Samajam of Greater New York

1527 Lowell Avenue New Hyde Park, New York 11040

## Indian Association of North Texas

777 S. Central Expressway, Suite 7C Richardson, TX 75080 Phone: (972) 234-IANT

# Diaspora Associations in CANADA

Vedic Study Circle of Windsor 738 Grand Marais Road E, Windsor Ontario Canada Phone: +1 519 966-8955

# Arya Samaj Society of British Columbia

Contact Person:Mr. Raghupal Singh, President P.O. Box 47111, 19-555 West 12th Ave, Vancouver Canada 1 604 321-1578

Association: Canadian Ramgarhia Society 6908 MacPherson Ave. Burnaby BC V5J 4N3 Canada

Phone: +1 604 438-0846

Association: Bharat Sevashram Sangha 2107 Codlin Cres Etobicoke ON M9W 5K7 Canada

Phone: +1 416 798-0479

Association: India-Canada Association 1301 Prestone Drive Orleans ON Canada

Phone: + 613 830-2600

# Association: Ramgarhia Sikh

Society
4109 Dursley Court
Mississauga
ON
Canada

Phone: +1 416 279-4078

# Toronto Arya Samaj

Mr. Anand Rupnarain, 29 Neviorest Square, Scarbrough, Ontario Canada Phone: +1 416 299-0188

# Ramgarhia Sikh Society

4109 Dursley Court Mississauga ON Canada Phone: +1 416 279-4078

South Asian Community Council Toronto Region

477 Mt. Pleasant Road 4th Floor, Toronto ON M4S 2L9 Canada Phone: +1 905 897-7855

#### London Arya Samaj

43 Beachmount Crescent, London, Ontario, Canada

#### **BC** Muslim Association

2218 Quadra

Victoria

BC, Canada

Phone: +1 250 995-1422

#### Akali Singh Sikh Society

1890 Skeena St.

Vancouver

BC V5M 4L3

Canada

Phone: +1 604 254-2117

#### 13. BC Muslim Association

Association: BC Muslim As

4162 Welwyn

Vancouver

BC, Canada

Phone: +1 604 873-1787

#### Mission Gursikh Society

33193 - 7th Ave.

Mission

BC V2V 2E2

Canada

Phone: +1 250 826-3070

#### Prince Rupert Sikh

Missionary Society

P.O. Box 503

Prince Rupert

BC VRJ 3R2

Canada

Phone: +1 250 624-2228

# South Asian Professionals Networking Association

(SAPNA)

60 Bristol Road East - Suite

739, Mississauga,

Ontario, Canada

### Diaspora Associations in UK:

The Gujarati Literary

Academy

2,Beechcroft Gardens

Wembley

Middlesex HA9 8EP

Email: editor@gla.org.uk

#### Sewa International

46/48 Loughborough Road

Leicester

United Kingdom

Phone: +44 116 261 0303

Fax: +44 116 +44 116 261 1931

### Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh

About the Association

46/48 Loughborough Road,

Leicester

United Kingdom

Contact Person:Mr. Kantaben

Shah

# D.A.V. Educational Society,

U.K.

Contact

Person: Mr. R Bhandari,

118 The Broadway, Southall,

Middx, United Kingdom

Phone: +44 181 571-4211

#### Maharashtra Mandal, London

Maharashtra Bhavan, 306 Dollis Hill Lane, London

## Shree Swaminarayan Satsan Mandal

Shree Swaminarayan Temple 220/222 Willesden Lane London, United Kingdom

#### Vanza Mandal of London

About the Association 24 Firs Avenue, North Finchley, London United Kingdom

### Congress of Arya Samajs

Abroad, U.K. Division 20 Sutton Lane, Hounslow, Middx., United Kingdom Phone: +44 181 814-0837

#### Kannada Balaga, UK

16, Plum Tree Close Prescot Merseyside United Kingdom

# Sindhi Association of UK (SAUK)

230A Kenton Road Harrow Middx United Kingdom

#### Maharashtra Mandal, London

Contact

Person: Mr. Vinod Nalawade,

#### Webmaster

Dollis hill

London, United Kingdom Australlia

#### United Indian Association

Subba Rao Varigonda PO Box 575 Strathfield 2135 Bengali Association of New South Wales GPO Box 4928, Sydney 2001

# Bangabandhu Parisad

Australia

PO Box 829, Roseberry 2018

#### Sikh Center

8 Meurants Lane, Parklea 2768

#### Sikh Mission Center

170 Ninth Ave Austral 2171

### Ramgarhia Welfare

Association

PO Box 857 Blacktown 2148

# United Punjabi Heritage and Cultural Association

5 Carlyle Lane Wollstonecraft, 2065

#### Indo-Australia Arts Education Centre Kala Mandir I

Vimla Rao 7/12 Market Street Moorebank 02 9600 7815 or 02 47362595

### Sydney Tamil Manram Inc

Mr. K. Palaniappan P.O.BOX 229, Strathfield, NSW 2135 9874 6801 sydney-tamilmanram@eGroups.com

# Telugu Association of Sydney

Mr.Hemanth Gangu 47 Eighth Avenue Jannali 9684 6868 details in Website

#### The Malayalee Association

The President/Secretary POBox 3088, Parramatta 88501618

## Hindu Council of Australia

Dr A Bala 17, The Crescent, Homebush NSW 02 9746-7789 hinducouncil@hinducouncil.com.au

#### Indian Children's Fund

Ilesh Patel
P. O. Box 209, Killara,
NSW 2071
02 9403 3332
info@icfa.org.au

# Australian Hindi Indian

Association (AHIA)
Prahlad Srivastava
3 Cardinal Avenue,
Beecroft 2119
(02)99802902
prahladsrivastav@hotmail,com

# Association for India's

# Development Australia Inc

Dhanada Mishra
President
17/41-43 Fontenoy Road,
Macquarie Park, 2113
(02) 96268197
aid\_sydney@yahoogroups.com

#### Auckland Migrant Centre

Wilson PO Box 8047, Symonds Street, Auckland www.migrantcentre.org.nz

# Punjabi Welfare and Cultural Association, Sydney

Dr Amarjit Singh Tanda 5/51, Dartbrook Rd. 0417271147

# Bangladesh Society for Puja

& Culture
Sujit Das
PO Box. 1151, Ashfield, 1800
02-9588 6655
bs\_pc@hotmail.com

# Basava Samithi Of Australasia Inc.

Vijay Halagali Po Box 6, Enfield South Nsw 2133 02 96260112 basavasamithi@bigpond.com

#### Asthan Babe Ka Trust

Goulburn Bakhtawer Singh Samrai PO Box 97 Lane Cove 2066 0414767059, 94281929

# Association for India's Development Australia Inc.

Dhanada Mishra P.O. 230, Guildford 2161 02 9890 3728

### Baps Swaminarayan Centre

Mr. C. P. Patel 40, Eleanor Street, Rosehill, 98972776

# Marathi Association Sydney

Inc

Chandrakant Kulkarni NSW 02 9622 1666 chandukulkarni@hotmail.com

# Federation of Australian

Indian Association
Prahlad Srivastava
9 Poplar Court Castle Hill,
NSW 2154
02 9980 2902/02 9874 6801

# Indian Cultural Society NT (Inc)

Sumesh Dhir GPO Box-957, Darwin, NT-0801 0414 66 3075

### Sydney Kannada Sangha

Onkaraswamy Goppenalli,President PO Box 35 A ,South Strathfield NSW-2136 0407065290

# Hindu Temple and Cultural Centre

Shri Bhushan Sardana 81 Ratcliffe Crescent (Cnr-Connah Street), Florey

# D-3, American Philanthropic Organisations Supporting Welfare Projects in India

### The India Development Service

The India Development Service (IDS), founded in Chicago in 1974, is a non – profit, totally voluntary, non - sectarian and non – political organization that supports grassroots economic and social development programmes in India that benefit all individuals regardless of caste, creed or sex. The founding members, Mr. Hiremath and his wife, returned to India to start the Medleri project in a village in Karnataka. They formed dairy cooperatives fodder farms, and conducted camps for adult literacy, education, training and health/. This project was extended to cover more than 25,000 people in 21 villages. IDS now have support groups in several cities and university campuses across the United States. examples of projects supported are: a Development Project in Maharashtra for Empowerment of Women; the Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture or Sita Sheti, also for women; the Yusuf Meherally Project near Panvel and Pen near Mumbai on afforestation, Vikasana in Chikmangalur, Karnataka on environmental issues, advanced farming techniques, and training for women; Asha in Pune, Maharasthra to counsel battered women; Samaj Parivarthan samudaya in Dharwad district of Karnataka, an environmental action group. It recently won a battle in the Indian Supreme Court against the State government over common grazing lands given away to a paper mill. The Vigyan Vahini project at Pune, a Mobile science laboratory staffed by volunteer teachers that imparts practical science education to village school children in Maharashtra, is another

laudable initiative launched by Dr. Madhukar Deshpande, who returned from the United States after working there with the IDS.

### Association for India's Development (AID)

Indian Students in the United States have organized an Association for India's Development (AID), which supports projects in India and has non – profit status in the United States. AID chapters have been set up in prominent American Universities. AID students visit Indian at their own expense to work in remote villages. AID chapters have targeted to collect \$250,000 for 10,000 villages out of their personal scholarships and other earnings, and leverage that with the funds at the disposal of Indian NGOs.

#### The American India Foundation (AIF)

The American India Foundation was founded in February 2001 by a group of prominent Indian Americans and former President Bill Clinton following the Gujarat earthquake. It is dedicated to helping India by partnering with existing NGOs. It also enjoys tax exemption status. Its members include Bill Clinton, Victor Menezes, Chairman & CEO of Citibank, and Rajat Gupta, managing Director of McKinsey & Company. It has appointed a full time coordinator in India. According to the information on their web page, the American India Foundation has already raised over \$ 4 million and plans to raise \$ 25 million by the end of 2001. It aims to be the premier US based foundation focused on relief and development in India. In March 2001, AIF sent doctors from the US to Gujarat for microsurgeries on earthquake victims under Project Swasthya. It sponsored a visit by the formed head of FEMA, James Lee Witt, to facilitate the development of a national Indian disaster mitigation plan. It plans to develop a Disaster management Resource Centre to mitigate and respond to future disasters.

A very significant initiative is the launching of its India Service Corps composed of qualified second generation PIOs (Persons of Indian Origin) to work on projects in infrastructure, education, agriculture, health, sanitation and economic development with leading non governmental organizations in different Indian states. The majority of the projects for this year's pilot programme are focused on rehabilitation and reconstruction of Kutch, Gujarat. A smaller project located in Bangalore, Karnataka is aimed at bridging the digital divide by setting up PC learning centers for under privileged children. Participants in the pilot Service Corps represent some of the best talent in the US and come from some of its top schools. AIF is teaming up with organizations on the ground in India like Abhiyan, a leading national NGO. Following the pilot programme, the Foundation plans to launch a larger programme that will send as many as 100 volunteers throughout India annually to complete service projects. The programme aims to channel a ground swell in Asian American activism and a growing intere4st in India. These young people have the potential of acting as India's Ambassadors in their home country thus creating a lasting bond between future generations. These are worthy goals that India must facilitate and ensure that their youthful idealism is undimmed and properly channalised.

# The American Association of the Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI)

The AAPI, one of America's premier ethnic medical associations, with a membership of 35,000 physicians is committed both to India's development and to facilitate Indian American physicians to excel in their profession. Some of the activities the AAPI Charitable Foundation is involved in conjunction with NGOs or governmental agencies are – 13 free clinics across India, Gujarat earthquake rehabilitation efforts, improving burns, trauma and disaster

management, medical education programmes and AIDS prevention and equipment donation. Existing medical and charitable activities in India include The Arpana Charitable Trust in Haryana, The Rotary Hospital connected with the Kasturba Medical College in Manipal, the Eye Hospital in Vyara, Gujarat, Eye camps in cooperation with Volunteer Eye Surgeons International, Latur Hospital Medical Centre, Maharashtra, B.J. Medical College, Pune, and children's Health and Welfare Foundation, Uttar Pradesh.

### Counterpart International

The Indian chapter of the Washington based Counterpart International runs a healthcare programme for children in the slums of Ahmedabad. Counterpart works closely with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which is funding its ongoing child health care programme called Jeevan Daan. The programme will reach out to 250,000 slum dwellers in the industrialized region of Gujarat. As part of the programme, Counterpart will build the capacity of local NGO partners to implement sustainable health programmes.

### CRY US Chapters

CRY Inc, a branch of India's famous CRY, is a volunteer driven organization across 25 Action Centres in USA. CRY Inc. supports 37 projects in India dealing with a wide range of issues concerning children and the under privileged sections of society. The projects are truly praiseworthy, targeted at needy children and women and are too many to enumerate. CRY's work does not require any publicity in India, being extremely well known.

#### Pratham USA

Mr. Vijay Goradia, CEO of Vinmar International, established Pratham USA, based in Houston, with chapters in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago, in 1998. It has been doing educational work with slum children of Delhi and Mumbai. It has initiated the India Education Foundation to support grassroots efforts to eradicate illiteracy from India. Over a million dollars have been raised and sent to India in the last three years.

#### Asha

In 1991, students at the University of California – Berkeley started Asha to provide basic education for under privileged children in India in cooperation with several non – governmental and governmental organizations in India. Asha, a non-profit voluntary organization has 35 chapters in the US, India, Canada, Australia and Singapore and in 2000 raised nearly a \$ 1,000,000 for more than 125 projects utilized for projects. The innovative Work an Hour fundraiser in which donors contribute just one hour of their pay towards educating under privileged children in India, which is being organized by Asha annually since 1998, has succeeded in raising progressively larger amounts each year.

### India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF)

The India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF), established in 1976, to provide funding for Seva projects in the United States and in India in educational, medical and social service areas, is based in Houston. IDRF is a tax-exempt organization. IDRF has raised US \$ 5.5 million in the past decade. It supports grassroots NGOs serving disadvantaged, impoverished, illiterate and disabled people. Dr. Vinod Prakash, the moving spirit behind IDRF, monitors progress. With other local organizations, it raised funds for well-established, volunteer run, non-profit organizations in India and the United States. It raised major funds for the Latur earthquake, Kargil relief and Orissa cyclone victims. For raising US \$ 303,000

for the rehabilitation of victims of the 1993 Maharashtra earthquake, IDRF was awarded the designation of America's top voluntary NGO. Last year, IDRF disbursed \$668,000 to 98 NGOs mostly in India.

# Rejuvenate India Movement (RIM)

Groups of Indian Americans have launched a "Rejuvenate India – Movement" to collaborate with voluntary organizations in India – like Indians for Collective Action, Association for India's Development, People for Progress in India and Asha – for social regeneration through citizen empowerment and volunteerism. There are 50 chapters in various cities of the US and 500 members have offered to fund various schemes. The RIM is drawing up a list of volunteers willing to live and work in India for extended periods at volunteers willing to live and sanitation. Priority projects are in the fields of health, hygiene and sanitation.

Source: Report of the High Level Committee on India Diaspora PP-488-491

# D-4, Partial List of the Respondents

#### Abraham

12 EL Ray Rd, Kingsville, MD-21087 Tel.: 410-592-7357

#### Abraham Antony

300 Linden Avenue, Towson, MD-21286 Tel.: 410-296-6341

#### Abraham Babu

3505 Dairy Valley Trail, Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-461-8561

#### Dr. Abraham Eapen

1400 Lytham CT Belair, MD-21015 Tel.: 410-893-3063

#### Abraham Elias

10102E. Woodlake DR. Cockeysville, MD-21030 Tel.: 410-683-0671

#### Abraham Jacob

8069 Crainmont DR. 5620 Mayview Avenue Glen Burnie, MD-21061 Tel.: 410-969-8483

#### Abraham Mathews

5620 Mayview Avenue Baltimore, MD-21206 Tel.: 410-483-3769

#### Abraham Mony

PO Box 24052 Baltimore, MD-21227 Tel.: 410-747-8486

#### Abraham M.G.

9465 Dunloggin Rd. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-461-3717

#### Abraham Rajan

34 Cody Avenue Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-529-2960

#### Abraham Sebastian

6307 Holly Ln Apt # A Baltimore, MD-21212 Tel.: 410-377-5996

#### Abraham Thomas

27 Lawrence Brooke Dr. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-536-1996

#### Aloth Mathew M.

10216 Tuscany Rd. Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-465-3357

#### Angela Mary

4785 Belwood Green Way Baltimore, MD-21227

#### Anthony Thomas P.

1217 Temfield Rd. Baltimore, MD-21204 Tel.: 410-821-9023

#### Arackal Sunny

6 pinemont Pl. Apt # 2C Baltimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-668-8091

#### Areekal Mathew K.

9610 Casper Ct. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-536-9357

### Attumalil John C.

1139 Deanwood Rd. Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-823-2805

### Ayirattipadavil Jose

2813 Brian Ct. Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-461-8784

### Bhaskaran Rajiv

4705 Gateway Terrace Apt #D Baltimore, MD-21227

#### Chacko Mathen

2040 Brigadier BLVD. Odenton, MD-21113 Tel.: 410-519-6339

#### Chacko P.C.

3820 Grosvenor DR. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-461-3962

#### Chelapurathu Mendus

3101 E Wheaton Way Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-480-0144

#### Chemmalakuzhy Thomas

740 Maple Crest DR. Baltimore, MD-21220 Tel.: 410-391-8171

#### Chemmannoor Anthony

6 Grainfield CT. Catonsville, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-788-7110

#### Cherupil George

11 Benwoods CT. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-719-0856

#### Cherussery George

634 Fortune Ct. Glen Burnie, MD-21061 Tel.: 410-766-4739

### Cyriac C.V.

654 Rockcove Ln. Severna Park MD-21146

#### Daniel Abraham

1203 Dalton Rd. Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-339-7037

#### Daniel Mammen

7315 Medow Wood Way Clarksville, MD-21029 Tel.: 410-880-4209

#### Fernandez Christopher

4828 Grand bend DR. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-737-0139

#### George Abraham

8636 Manahan DR. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-313-8964

#### Dr. George V.

6 Hills Point CT. Lutherville, MD-21090 Tel.: 410-583-7958

#### George Shyni

5912 Harford Avenue Baltimore, MD-21228

#### George Shaji

311 D Cedar Run PL. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-869-8964

#### Jacob Baby

9006 Transoms Rd. Baltimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-529-1474

#### John Abraham

8107 Timber Brooke Rd. Baltimore, MD-21237 Tel.: 410-665-2263

#### John N.C.

10029 Century Dr. Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-465-8655

#### John Thomas

9315 Perglen Rd. Baltimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-256-1878

#### John Varghese

1315 Cedarcroft Rd. Baltimore, MD-21239 Tel.: 410-323-7627

#### Jose Bijo

7125 Rolling Bend Rd. Apt C Baltimore, MD-21244 Tel.: 443-436-0787

## Joshua Abraham

1108 Pleasant Valley Dr. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-788-4733

## Joy John P.

3812 Graceland CT. Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-461-3057

#### Julius John M.

32 Gorsuch Rd. Lutherville, MD-21093 Tel.: 410-308-8796

#### Kadavil Thomas

8685 Manahan DR. Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-465-5498

#### Dr. Kalathil Sashidharan

1436 Autum Leaf Rd. Baltimore, MD-21204 Tel.: 410-828-5669

#### Kannoly Amarnath

5970 Turnabout Lane, Apt 9 Columbia, MD-21044

#### Karmel Mathew K.

6517 Grainger CT. elkridge, MD-21075 Tel.: 410-799-8004

#### Karoor Ninan M.

6727 Collinsdale Rd. Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-823-5059

#### Karuvelithara Sunnichen

8300 Governor Grayson Way Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-480-9687

#### Dr. Kattakuzhy George

3611 Morning View CT. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-465-6117

#### Kayyath Sebastian

3720 Chesmont Avenue Baltimore, MD-21206 Tel.: 410-483-9087

#### Konathapally Sibichen

2013 Castilera CT. Virginia Beach, VA Tel.: 757-378-7650

#### Korah John

1207 Ambridge Rd. Belair, MD-21014 Tel.: 410-893-8788

#### Kurian C.I.

6802 Collinsdale Rd. Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-337-6726

#### Dr. Kurian George

912 Hillstead Dr. Lutherville, MD-21093 Tel.: 410-321-8133

#### Kurian Joseph

7 Mayton CT. Timonium, MD-21093 Tel.: 410-252-5957

#### Kurien Varughese

10200 Clubhouse CT. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-313-9932

#### Kurup Raj

2890 Thorn Brooke Rd. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-480-2838

#### Lukose Blesson

16 Lawrence Brooke Rd. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-247-4694

#### M.K. Thampi

6706 Collinsdale Rd. Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-494-0442

#### Madappallil Varghese

8417 Pleasant Plains Baltimore, MD-21286 Tel.: 410-523-0099

#### Mammen Suraj

29 Acron Circle Apt 202 Towson, MD-21286 Tel.: 410-337-0065

#### Manjali Jose

9524 Michaels Way Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-465-5519

#### Mathai Rajan

902 Hooper Avenue Apt E Baltimore, MD-21229 Tel.: 410-737-0256

#### Mathew Augustine

12 Maddison Mills CT. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-788-3592

#### Mathew Cherian

9531 Oakbranch Way Balrimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-529-8105

#### Mathew George

2106 Harmony Woods Rd. Owingsmills, MD-21117 Tel.: 410-560-3470

#### Mathew John V.

2509 Baublitz Rd. Reistertown, MD-21136 Tel.: 410-561-9461

#### Mathew Jose

933 Palladi Dr. Baltimore, MD-21227 Tel.: 410-247-4845

#### Mathew Jose P.

5 Mckenna CT. Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-661-6228

#### Mathew Kurian

1005 Cowpense Avenue Towson, MD-21286 Tel.: 410-296-6749

#### Mathew Mathew K.

5801 Chinquapin Pky Apt D Baltimore, MD-21239 Tel.: 410-433-0035

#### Mathew Paulose

1414 King William Rd. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-455-0287

#### Mathew Thomas

4039 Cedar Side Dr. Baltimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-529-5849

#### Mathew Thomas

5588 April Journey CT. Columbia, MD-21044 Tel.: 410-964-0393

#### Mavunkel Mohan

8373 Governor Greyson Way Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-465-1771

#### Dr. Mulaikal Peter

1707 Bywoods Ln. Stevenson, MD-21153 Tel.: 410-653-4660

#### Dr. Nair Karmachandran

12 Deerwood CT. Glen Arm, MD-21057 Tel.: 410-668-2667

#### Dr. Nair Padmanabhan

4520 Henlock Cone Way Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-461-5437

#### Dr. Nair Vijayachandran

2313 Kings Arm DR. Fallston, MD-21047 Tel.: 410-557-6938

#### Nair Anil Sreedharan

1109 Primrose CT. #201 Annapolis, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-295-7072

# Naralakattu Joseph

4845 Vicky Rd. Baltimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-529-6875

#### Nedumpallil Kuriakoise

4533 Ambermill Rd. Baltimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-529-1815

#### Painumkal Saji

1602 Brethoor CT. Apt 12 Sterling, VA-20164 Tel.: 703-421-2227

#### Paliath George

215 Locknell Rd. Timonium, MD-21093

#### Pallikal Jose

1244 Pleasant Valley Rd. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-455-9735

#### Pallikal Joy S.

10361 Breconshire Rd. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-418-4075

#### Panicker George

12268 Bonmot PL. Reistertown, MD-21136 Tel.: 410-526-7467

#### Paniculam George

3985 High Point Road Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-461-5633

#### Parnel George

7 Randolph Springs CT. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-869-3335

#### Paranilam Jose

818 Warwick Rd. Baltimore, MD-21229 Tel.: 410-242-3360

#### Pattasseril Jacob

18818 Bent Willow Cir. Apt 413 German Town, MD-20874

#### Paul Sajimon

1107 Outletmills CT. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-744-4207

#### Paul Saju

29 Brucester Bridge CT. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-247-4747

#### Paulose Jacob

1510 Putty Hill Avenue Baltimore, MD-21286 Tel.: 410-823-3624

#### Pavanal David John

105 KingBrooke Road Linthicu, MD-21090 Tel.: 410-859-3980

#### Pereira Peter

4411 Alan Dr APT B Baltimore, MD-21229 Tel.: 410-536-1913

#### Perumattam Saju

8059 Winding wood Rd. Apt 13, Glenburnie, MD-21061 Tel.: 410-969-3781

#### Perumattam Thomas

1748 Popular Ridge Rd. Pasadena, MD-21122 Tel.: 410-437-5479

#### Philip Andrews

304 C Cedar Run PL. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-744-4448

#### Philip Thomas

8708 EMGE Rd. Baltimore, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-882-4478

#### Pillai Ramachandran

8362 Chestnut Farm LN. Ellicott City, MD-21043 Tel.: 410-750-0694

#### Pothen Joseph

13 Perrywoods CT. Perryhall, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-248-0338

#### Poulose John

8206 Loch Raven BLVD Baltimore, MD-21286 Tel.: 410-337-3644

#### Prasad P.V.R.

3603 Klausmier Rd. Baltimore, MD-21236 Tel.: 410-529-9031

#### Pulimood Mani K.

8 Johnson Mill Rd. Baltimore, MD-21204 Tel.: 410-823-2658

#### Dr. Puthumana Joseph

3812 Yellostone CT. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-750-1445

#### Rajamoni Austin

749 Wilton Farm DR. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-247-6766

#### Dr. Reuben Jayakumar

3323 Hazelwood DR. Fallston, MD-21047 Tel.: 410-557-6325

#### Surendran K.

8701 Ridgely Choice DR. Baltimore, MD Tel.: 410-529-0651

#### Thomas Babu P.

902 Sibley Rd. Towson, MD-21204 Tel.: 410-828-5245

#### Thomas Henry P.

1852 Yakona Rd., Bali, MD-21234 Tel.: 410-665-0197

#### Thomas Josekutty

120 Bragg BLVD Odenton, MD-21113 Tel.: 410-672-1749

#### Thomas Oomen

10214 Globe DR. Ellicott City, MD-21207 Tel.: 410-313-8467

#### Thomas Samuel

3256 Pine Bluffs DR. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-465-1406

#### Thomas Stephen

916 E Hooper Avenue Baltimore, MD-21229 Tel.: 410-247-8597

#### Thomas T.P.

5262 Pine Bark CT. Columbia, MD-21045 Tel.: 410-997-2913

#### Thuluvath Paul

8725 Marburg Manor DR. Lutherville, MD-21093 Tel.: 410-296-2910

#### Thundathil Sen

29 Hathaway Rd. Timonium, MD-21093 Tel.: 410-561-5053

#### Dr. Valamparambil Sivan

26 Westspring Way Lutherville, MD-21093 Tel.: 410-561-3306

#### Varghese Joy

1312 Lincoln Woods CT. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-869-9288

#### Dr. Varghese Raju

3770 Plum Medow DR. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-461-1661

### Varughese A.V.

2909 Thornbrook RD. Ellicott City, MD-21042 Tel.: 410-750-1606

# Varughese Thomas

9085 E Town & Country BLVD

Ellicott City, MD-21043

Tel.: 410-480-0184

# Venginickal John

10 Hunting Creek CT. Baltimore, MD-21228 Tel.: 410-788-9549

Vithayathil Tony

4313 C Alan DR.

Baltimore, MD-21229

Tel.: 410-737-8575

# D-5, Prominent Indian Americans

#### Mr. Rajat Gupta

Managing Director McKenzie & Co. One 1st National Plaza #2900

Chicago IL 20036

Tel.: (O) 312-551-3500

Fax: 312-551-4241

#### Mr Pradman Kaul

President & COO Hughes Network Systems 11717 Exploration Lane German Town, MD-20876 Tel.: 240-453-2100

#### Mr Victor Menezes

Sr. Vice President Citi Bank 399 Park Avenye New York 10043 Tel.: 212-559-2040

#### Mr. Rakesh Gangwal

CEO USAir Crystal Park Four 2345 Crystal Drive Arlington, Virginia 22227

Tel.: 703-872-7000 Fax: 703-872-7093

#### Mr. Arun Netravali

President
Bell Laboratory
600 Mountain Avenue
Murray Hills, New Jersey 07974

Tel.: 908-508-8080 Fax: 908-508-2576

#### Mr. Vinod Khosla

Partner
Keliner Perkins
2750 Sand Hill Road
Manlo Park, California
Tel.: 650-233-2750
Fax: 650-233-0300

#### Mr. Vijay Goradia

CEO The Vinmar Group 396 West Greens Rd Suite 300, Houston, TX 77067

Tel.: 281-775-1300 Fax: 281-775-1399

#### Mr Ismail Merchant

Merchant Ivory Productions 250 West 52 Street New York, NY 10019 Tel.: 212-582-8049

Fax: 212-459-9201

#### Mr. H.R. Shah

TV Asia

Asia Star Broadcasting Inc. 76, National Rd. Edison JN 08817

Tel.: 732-650-1100 Fax : 732-650-1112

### Dr H. Siddalingaiah

President

Science & Engineering App. 21030 Georgia Avenue Suite 100 Brookeville MD 20833-1138

Tel.: 301-774-1010 Fax: 301-774-6987

### Mr. Jitu Somaiya

Managing Director Fashnestock 2109, Broadway San Francisco CA 94115

Tel.: 415-693-9233 Fax: 514-693-9355

#### Mr. Sharad Tak

8301 river Road Bethesda MD 20817

Tel.: 301-365-4451 Fax: 301-469-8858

### Mr. Roger Mody

**CEO** 

Signal Corporation 3040 William Drive Suite 200 Fairfax VA 22031

Tel.: 703-205-0500

Fax: 703-205-0560

#### Mr. Ram Mukund

President & CEO Startec Global Communication 10411 Notor City Drive

Bethesda Maryland 20817

Tel.: 301-767-1447

### Mr. Vikram Raj Rajadhyaksha

Chairman & CEO
DLZ Corporation
2161 Huntley Road
Fax: 614-431-4022

#### Mr. Chand Akkineni

President Capricon Systems Inc. 7 Dunwoody Park Atlanta GA 30338 Tel.: 770-339-6789

#### Mr. Reggie Aggarwal

CEO

C Zent Inc 3801 Ivonhoe Lane Alexandria VA 22310 Tel.: 703-205-2470

#### Mr. Sudhakar Shenoy

CEO

Information Management Consultant 7915 West Park Drive

McLean VA 22102 Tel.: 703-893-3100

Fax: 703-205-2470

### Mr Desh Deshpande

Chairman & CEO
Sycamore Network Inc.

Tel.: 987-851-7777

Mr. Sanjay S. Kumar

CEO Computer Association

International Inc.

1 Computer Associates Plaza

Islandia New York 11749

Tel.: 516-342-2805 Fax: 516-346-5329

#### Mr. Amar Bose

**CEO** 

Bose Corporation

The Mountain

Framingham MA 01701

Tel.: 800-999-2673

Fax: 508-766-7543

### Mr. Gururaj Deshpande

Co-Founder & Chairman Sycamore Network Inc. 10, Elizabath Drive Chelmsford MA 01824-4111

# Dr Purnendu Chatterjee

The Chatterjee Group 888, Seventh Ave., Suite 3000 New York NY 10106-0089

### Dr V.S. Arunachalam

Professor Engineering & Public Policy Material Science Engineering Carnegie Melon University 43 Wean Hall, 5000 Forbes Ave..., Pittsburgh, PA

#### Mr. Sam Bhada

Lexington Hotel
511 Lexington Avenye
New York, NY

#### Mr. Rajiv Khanna

Partner
Sidley & Austin and President
Indo-American Chamber of
Commerce
857 Third Avenue,
12th Floor New York
NY 10022

#### Mr. Sreedhar Menon

President Menon Enterprise 176, Western Drive, Short Hills NJ 07078

#### Dr Raj Reddy

School of Computer Science Carnegie Mellon University 5327 Wean Hall 5000 Forbes Avenue Pittsburgh, PA

#### Mr. Ashok Trivedi

President Mastech Corporation 1004 Mckee Road Oakdale PA 15071

# Dr Dayan Naik

President Elect of AAPI 688, White Plains Road St. 210 Scarsdale NY 10583

#### Mr. Rao Ratnala

President
Ratnala & Bahl Inc.
11767, Katy Freeway
Suite 510
Houston TX 77079

#### Mr. Nalina R. Pillai

CEO

Intech Global Resources Inc. 2537 S. Gessner Suite 200 Houston TX 77063

#### Mr. Mahendra P. Gupta

President & CEO Healthcare Systems Inc. 3696 N. Federal Hway Suite 202

#### Ft. Lauderadale FL 33308

Prof. E.C.G. Sudarshan
Department of Physics
University of Texas
Austin Texas 78712

#### Prof. Vijay Mahajan

Department of Marketing Admn.

University of Texas at Austin Austin TX 78712-1176

#### Mr. Sada Joshi

Joshi Technologies Intl. Inc 5801, 41st Street Suite 603 Tulsa OK-74135

#### Mr. Niranjan Shah

Chairman & CEO Globetrotters 300 S. Wacker Drive, Suite 200 Chicago IL 60606

#### Mr. Sam Pitroda

Presidnet
World Tel Limited
Charlesw Hooouse 5 Regent
Street
London SWIY 4 LR

#### Mr. Amrish K. Mahajan

Presidnet Mutual Bank 16540, S Halsted Harvey IL 60426

#### Mr. Jitendra R. Ghia

President
Harza Consulting Engineers & Scientists
Harza Environmental Services
Inc.
Sears Tower, 233 South
Wacker Dr.
Chicago IL 60606

#### Prof Bala Balachandran

J.L. Kellogg Distringhished Professor of Accounting and Information Systems & Decision Sciences Northwestern University Leverone Hall, 2001 Sheridan Road Evanston, IL 60201

#### Dr. Satya Ahuja, MD

President AAPI 17 W 300 22nd Suite 250 Oak Brooke Terrace IL 60181

#### Mrs S. Chandrasekhar

5825, S.Dorchester Ave. Chicago IL 60637

#### Dr Anita P. Deshmukh

625-C, Edenborough Prospect Heights IL 60070

#### Mr Sharad Marathe

2902 Handford Dr. Rockford IL 61114

#### Dr C.K. Prahlad

6100 Geddes Road Ypsalanti MI 48198

# Mr Darshan Singh Daliwal

7833 Hawthrone Rd. Mequon WI 53092

# Dr Prakash Ambegankar & Ms. Sunandini Ambegaonkar 107 Main Street Suite 300

Fairfax Virginia 22030

### Prof Raju G.C. Thomas

Dept. of Political Science Marquette University P.O. Box 1881 Milwaukee WI 53201

### Mr. Durga Agarwal

President
Piping Technology & Products
Inc.
3701 Holmes Road
Houston TX 77051
Tel.: 713-731-0030

#### Mr. Paul Likhari

CEO Bioassay Laboratory Inc. 10550 Rockley Road Suite 150 Houston TX 77099 Tel.: 281-495-6996

#### Mr Rakesh Dawar

Regioanl Manager Tata Counsultancy Services 3050 Post Oak Blvd Suite 500 Houston TX 77056 Tel.: 713-960-7182

#### Dr. Vinod Bhuchar

President
North Houston Medicine
Turnor & Blood Clinic
4501 Airline Dr.

Houston TX 77022 Tel.: 713-697-2299

Mr. Udai Jain

President R.G. Corp. 6222 Richamond Suite 800 Houston TX-77057 Tel.: 713-783-5500

Mr. K.M. Khetpal

President
United A/C Supply
9920 West Park Houston
TX-77063
Tel.: 713-952-5191

Mr. Ashok Garg

President Allied Exports Inc. P.O. Box 79748 Houston TX-77279-9748 Tel.: 713-972-1735

Mr. Ajay Gorde

Project Manager Whitaker Counsulting Inc. 1200 Enclave Parkway Suite 200 Houston TX-77077 Tel.: 713-465-1500

Mr. V.N. Vijayvergiya

President
Geotest Engineering Inc.
5600 Bintliff Drive
Houston TX-77036
Tel.: 713-266-0588

Mr. Kiran Verma

Proprietor Ashiana Indian Restaurant 12610 Briar Forest Houston TX-77077 Tel.: 281-679-5555

Mr. Prem K. Suhalka

General Manager Birla Counsultancy & Software Services 511 E John Carpenter Freeway Suite 630 Irving TX-75062 Tel.: 972-559-1815/1636

Mr. Sunil Mehta

President
First Emporium Inc.
6701 Tres Laguna Dr.
Houston TX 77083
Tel.: 281-564-0325

Mr. D.V. Kumar

Engineer 3702 Springhill Lane Sugarland TX 77479 Tel.: 281-980-2042

Mr. Surendra Rastogi Brighon Homes 1031

Mill Shadow Court Sugarland TX 77478

Tel.: 281-498-4585

Mr. M.J. Reddy 6018, Dabney Hill C1 Sugarland TX 77479

Tel.: 281-565-0437

#### Mr. Ashok Nath

**CEO** 

GasTel Inc.

7636 Harwin Dr.

Houston TX 77036

Tel.: 713-780-4434

#### Mr. Surinder Trehan

Vice President

Sugarcreek Montessori School

Inc.

615 Dulles Ave, Stafford

TX 77477

Tel.: 281-261-1000

#### Mr. Ajith Hakur

**CPA** 

6300 West Loop South

Suite 680

Bellaire TX 77401

Tel.: 713-668-8007

#### Mrs. Deepa Thakur

Attorney

Law Offices of Deepa Thakur 6300 West Loop South

Suite 680 Bellaire TX 77401

Tel.: 713-668-8227

#### Dr. Susan Jacobs

Physician

Asthma & Allergy Clinics of

Houston

11662 Memorial Dr.

Houston TX 77024

Tel.: 713-789-2642

#### Mr. Dinkar Chheda

SR & N Investment

15502 Winding Moss Dr.

Houston TX 77068

Tel.: 281-537-9308

#### Dr. Krishna Dronamraju

President

Genetics Foundation

P.O. Box 22701-0

Houston TX 77227

Tel.: 713-667-5106

# Mr. Jagar Kamdar

14314 Verde Mar Lane

Houston TX 77095

Tel.: 281-463-9339

#### Mr. Jagdip Ahluwalia

Info-Electronics Systems

15802 Waybridge Glen

Houston TX 77095

Tel.: 281-856-0573

## Mr. M.G. Shetty

Vice President

Global Trade Finance &

Advisory

Chase Bank of Texas, N.A.

712 Main Street, Mezzanine

South

Houston TX 77002-8026

Tel.: 713-216-4279

#### Mr. Randhir Sahni

President

Llewelyn-Davies Shni, Inc.

1990 Post Oak Blvd Suite 1200 Houston TX 77056-3812

Tel.: 713-850-1500

Mr Harvinder S. Arora Allied Union Inc. 2518 Windfall Drive Sugarland TX 77479 Tel.: 281-265-3999

#### Mr. Rakesh Vij

Presidnet R K International Inc. 5607 Hartsdale Dr. Houston TX 77036 Tel.: 713-532-7277

#### Mr. Victor Bhatt

President & CEO Lee Office Products 3430 Leeland Ave. Houston TX 77003 Tel.: 713-227-1201

#### Dr. Randhir P. Sinha

Clear Lake Neurological Surgery 525 Blossom Webster Texas 77598 Tel.: 281-332-2464

#### Mr. Max E. Rasquinha

Global Overseas Services Inc. 8206 Fairbanks N. Houston Rd.

Houston TX 77064 Tel.: 713-849-4433

#### Mr. Vinod V. Shah

ABC Travels
Regency Square Tower
6200 Savoy Drive, Suite 1115
Houston TX 77036
Tel.: 713-977-9802

#### Mr. Harish Khatarani

910 Pointe Loma Dr. Sugarland TX 77470 Tel.: 281-660-8888

#### Dr. Kiran Patel

11016 North Dale Mabry Hwy Tampa FL 33618 Tel.: 813-239-3262

#### Mr. Vinod C. Patel

3307 Williams Glen Dr Sugarland TX 77479 Tel.: 713-961-4151

#### Mr. Narendra R. Patel

Welcome Business Group Inc. 5602 Dairy Brook Cove Sugarland TX 77479

#### Mr. Bhupendra Ranat

10308 Metcalf Ave Suite 139 Overland Park KS 66212

Tel.: 913-685-7987

#### Mrs. Sheela Joshi - Noble

P.O. Box 93348 Lubbock TX 79493-3348

Tel.: 281-793-0031

#### Mr. Rajiv Sinha

P.O. Box 23115
Little Rock AR 72221

Tel.: 501-663-8237

### Dr. Alok Ray

9-Windermere Houston TX 77065 Tel.: 713-334-4303

#### Mr. Raj Sehgal

1807 Keatley Drive Houston TX 77077 Mr. Ashok Shah Compaq Computer Corporation MS 590212140 Cypress Station Dr. Houston TX 77090 Tel.: 281-927-5763

# Mr. Uday Mahagaokar

33-Greensward Lane Sugarland TX 77479 Tel.: 281-491-6754

## Mr. Anil K. Aggarwal

VIDICOMP 10998 Wilcrest Dr Houston TX 77099 Tel.: 281-848-7500

#### Mr. K. Bala

Sr. Vice President Semiconductor Group Texas Instruments Incorporated 12203 Southwest Freeway, MS 717 Stafford TX 77477 Tel.: 281-274-2444

### Mr. Mahendra P. Gupta

President & CEO Healthcare Systems Inc. 3696 N. Federal Hway Suite 202 Ft. Lauderadale FL 33308

#### Mr. V.M. Patel

The Elegance Limousines P.O. Box 690613
Orlando Florida
Tel.: 32869-0613
Fax: 407-522-5466

#### Mrs Meera Kapoor

Manager Ntwk. Eng. Switching Southwestern Bell Telephone 6500 W. Loop S. Zone 3.7 Bellaire Texas 77401 Tel.: 713-567-8966

#### Mr. Harish M. Dalal

14419 Red Grove San Antonio TX 78230-5911 Tel.: 210-241-7837

#### Prof M. Sukumar

Assistant Professor University of Houston College of Business Administration Deptt. Of Marketing & Enterpreneurship Houston TX 77204-6283 Tel.: 713-743-4561

Prof. Swadesh M. Hahajan

Sr. Research Scientist
Physicies Department
University of Texas
Austian TX 78712-1176
512-837-1782

Mr. Padmakant Mehta

14731 Delbarton Houston TX 77083 Tel.: 281-530-9063

Dr. Narinder Singh

13052 W. 78th Street Lenexa KS 66216 Tel.: 913-268-4675

Mr. Surendra Parekh

9013 W. 128 Street Overland Park KS 66213 Tel.: 813-860-1045

Mr. Ramesh Bhatia

**CEO** 

Atco Rubber Products Inc. 7101 Atco Dr Forth Worth TX 76118 Tel.: 817-595-2894

Mr. Rajesh Deshpande

**CEO** 

Camber Coorporation 635 Dsicovery Dr. Huntsville AL 35806 Tel.: 205-922-0200 Mr. Siva Tyai

CEO

Sai Software Consultants Inc 2313 Timbershadows Dr. Suite 200 Kingwood TX 77339

Tel.: 281-358-1858

Mr. Andy Agarwal

**CEO** 

Continental Products Inc. 1013 Bonny Oaks Dr. Dalton GA 30721 706-278-2892

Mr. R.P. Singh

**CEO** 

Dynacs Engineering Co. Inc. 35111 US Hwy, 19 N Suite 300 Palm Harbor FL 34684

Tel.: 813-787-1245

Mr. Anil Valbh

CEO

Anil I. Valbh / Avista Properties Inc. 4401 Vineland Rd Suite A-11 Orlando FL 32811 Tel.: 407-841-8855

Mr. Gopal Savjani

**CEO** 

Diagnostic Systems
Laboratories Inc.
445 Medical Centre Blvd.

Webster TX 77598 Tel.: 281-332-9678

### Mr. Om Singla

**CEO** 

Automation Image Inc. 2650 Valleyview Dallas TX 75234 Tel.: 972-247-8816

#### Mr. Gowri Kailas / Chandra Kailas

**CEO** 

Kailash Management Inc. 3525 North Causeway Blvd Suite 1040 Metairie LA 70002 Tel.: 504-828-9700

### Mr. Gurmej Sandhu

**CEO** 

Sigmatech, Inc. 6000 N. Technology Dr Huntsville AL 45805 Tel.: 205-721-1188

#### Mr. Victor Abraham

**CEO** 

Skypass Travel, Inc. 2730 N. Stemmons Fwy Dallas TX 75207 Tel.: 214-634-8687

#### Mr. Bharat Shah

CEO

Noble Investment Group Ltd. The Noble Companies, LLC 3343 Peachtree Rd NE Atlanta GA 30326 Tel.: 770-262-9660

### Dr. Noshir Khory

Director

New Business Development (India)

Motorola P.O. Box 64 Northbrook IL 60062 Tel.: 847-480-3066

Fax: 847-729-7014

#### Dr. Kshitiji Mohan

Corporate VP Baxter Route 120 and Wilson Rd IL 60073

Tel.: 847-270-5800 Fax: 847-270-3586

## Mr. John Kapoor

EJ Finance Enterprises Inc 225 E Deerpath Rd #250 Lake Forest IL 60045

#### Mr. Madhavan Nayar

President & CEO Unitech 1240 East Diehl Rd # 300 Nalerville IC 60563

Tel.: 630-505-1800 Fax: 630-505-1812

#### Mr. Prasad Rao

President Cybertech International 1111 W. 22nd St. Suite 800 Oakbrook IL 60523 Tel.: 630-472-3232 Fax: 630-472-3299

#### Dr. Varkie Thomas

Director, South Asia Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, LLP Suite 1000 224 S. Michigan Ave Chicago IL 60604 Tel.: (O)312-360-4467, (R) 312-595-1615

E-mail: varkie.thomas@som.com

#### Mr. Homi Patel

Fax: 312-360-4545

President
Hart Marx 101
North Wacker Drive
Chicago IL 60601
Tel.: 312-372-6300
Fax: 312-855-3799

# Mr. K. Rajagopalan

President & CEO State Bank of India 19 South La Salle Street Chicago IL 60603 Tel.: (O)312-621-0007, (R) 312-266-0425 Fax: 312-621-0740

#### Mr. Ashref A. Hashim

President
The Blackstone Group
Research and Consultancy
Services

360 N Miehigan Avenue

Chicago IL 60601 Tel.: 312-419-0400 Fax: 312-419-8419

#### Mr. Ra, Thukkaram

Chairman

Thurteen Invesstments Inc 40 Skokie Blvd Suite # 315 Northbrook IL 60062 Tel.: 847-509-0012

Fax: 847-509-8991

#### Mr. Hasan Merchant

President & CEO POLO 725 N. Addison Road Villa Park IL 60181

Tel.: 630-279-0200 Fax: 630-279-4745

# Prof Darsh Wasan

Vice President
Illinois Institute of Technology
(IIT)
Room 228 Perlstein Hall
10-W 33rd St. Chicago IL
60616
Tel.: 312-567-3001

Fax: 312-567-3001

#### Prof Prakash Deshai

Chief of Staff, Psychiatry University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) 820 S Damen Chicago IL 60612 Tel.: 312-633-2102

#### Prof Homi Bhabha

Department of English University of Chicago 5616 S. Kimbark Avenue Chicago IL 60637 Tel.: (O) 773-702-4840, (R) 773-702-3260 Fax: 773-702-9861

#### Prof Arjun Appadurai

Professor, Anthropology Unversity of Chicago 2029 Commonwealth Avenue Apt 4 A Chicago IL 60657 Tel.: (O) 773-834-0829, (R) 773-296-993

#### Dr. Mohanbir Swhney

Tribune Professor of Electronic Commerce & Technology J.L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management Northwestern University 2001 Sheridan Road Evanston IL 60210 Email: mohans@nwu.edu

# Prof Lakshman Krishnamurthy

Chairperson of Marketing Epartment J.L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management Northwestern University 2001 Sheridan Road Evanston IL 60210 Tel.: 847-467-1286

#### Prof Dipak Jain

Associate Dean
J.L. Kellogg Graduate School
of Management
Northwestern University
2001 Sheridan Road
Evanston IL 60210
Tel.: (O) 847-491-2840,
(R) 847-328-0605
Fax: 847-467-2747

#### Dr. Mohan Sood

Dean Graduate School
Northeastern Illionois
Univeersity
5500 N St. Louis Aven
Chicago IL 60625
Tel.: (O) 773-794-2801,
(R) 847-524-5834
Fax: 773-794-6670
E-mail: m-sood@neiu.edu

#### Dr Rajendra Raja

Fermilab National Acelerator Laboratory P.O. Box 500 Batavia IL 60516 MS # 122 Tel.: 360-840-3000 Fax: 360-840-8481

#### Prof Ram Ramakrishnan

Professor of Accounting

College of Business

Administrator

University of Illinois at

Chicago (UIC)

Room 2301 Chicago IL 60612

Tel.: 312-996-3270

E-mail: rramakri@uic.edu

#### Mr. Shelly Kumar

President

Indian Classical Music Soceity

2025 Collett Lance

Flossmoor IL 60422

Tel.: (O) 708-534-4528,

(R) 708-798-2025

Fax: 708-534-1641

E-mail: s-kumar@govst.edu

# Mr. Joe Anthony Puthenvettil

209 Roslyn Rd

Oakbrook IL 60521

Tel.: 630-789-1966

Fax: 708-366-7781

#### Dr Rahul Deepankar

330 Barringston Dr.

Bourbonnais IL 60914

Tel.: (O) 815-937-3514, (R)

815-939-2708

Fax: 815-937-3023

#### Dr Satya Ahuja, MD

President AAPI

17W 300 22nd Suite 250

Oakbrook Terrace IL 60181

Tel.: (O) 708-530-2277,

(R) 312-951-4950

Fax: 312-951-6837

#### Mr. Viresh Bhatia

**CEO** 

Install Shield Software

Corporation

900 National Parkway

Suite 125 Schamburg IL

60173-5108

Tel.: 847-517-8431

Fax: 847-240-9180

E-mail: www.installshield.com

#### Dr Jayachand Pallekonda

President

410, Potter Road

Des Plaines IL 60016

Tel.: 312-943-6600

Fax: 847-296-3803

#### Dr Abha Pandya

6337, North Rockwell

Apt 3 Chicago 60659

Tel.: 773-338-1481

#### Dr Padma Rangaswamy

123 Ann Street

Clarendon Hills IL 60514

Tel.: 630-654-0168

#### Ms Kanta Khipple

1856, Sherman Avenue

SW 7 Evanston IL 60201

Tel.: 847-864-2692

Fax: 847-869-7766

#### Mr Bharat Desai

Président & CEO Syntel Inc 2800 Livernois Road

# 400 Troy MI 48083

Tel.: 248-619-3500 Fax: 248-619-2889

#### Mr. Gurmale Singh

Grewal Singh Development Co. Ltd. Suitei 200 P.O. Box 255005

West Bloomfield MI 48325-3005

Tel.: (O) 248-865-1600/1,

(R) 248-932-9146

Fax: 248-865-1630

#### Mr Hanuman Marur

President
Trans Environmental
Engineers Inc
G-3304 Corunna Road Flint
MI 48532

Tel.: 810-235-100

Fax: 813-235-1040

#### Mr. Raj Vattikutti

Corporate Business Solutions Inc

32605 @ 12 Mile Rd.

Suite 250 Frammgron Hills

MI 48334-3339

Tel.: (O) 248-848-2201,

(R) 248-488-2088

Fax: 248-488-0516/0439

#### Mr Rakesh Mahajan

**CEO** 

Deneb Robbotics Inc 3285 Lapeer Rd. W Auburn Hills MI 48326

Tel.: (O) 248-267-9696,

(R) 248-828-0155

Fax: 248-267-8585

#### Dr Ashok Jain

President

Michigan Association of Physicans from India P.O. Box 68 MI 4830

Tel.: (O) 734-467-4383,

(R) 248-647-2727

Fax: 734-326-3999

#### Mr Shridhar Guduguntal

President

Synergy Computer Solutions

Inc

26105 Orchard Lake Rd.

Suite 107 Farmington Hills

MI 48334-3339

Tel.: (O) 248-474-8950,

(R) 248-933-6290

Fax: 248-474-8976

#### Prof Mohammed Ayoob

University Distingushed Professor of Intl. Relations James Madison Colleve Michigan State University E. Lansing MI 48824 Tel.: (O) 517-353-6750, (R) 517-351-1200

Fax: 517-432-1804

Mr. Vic Havele

President

Computer - Aid Engineering

Technology Inc

13485 Stamford Court

Livonia MI 48150

Tel.: 734-513-6100

Fax: 734-513-6174

Dr K.M. Jain

1815 Henson Drive

Kalamazoo MI 49008

Mr Yogi Bharwaj

National Petroleum Inc

6621 39th Aven

Kenosha WI 53142

Tel.: 414-652-4100

Fax: 414-653-2223

Dr. Suresh Chandra

4713, Country Trunk

Highwaty

Middleton WI 53562

Tel.: 608-263-9338

Fax: 608-238-3386

Prof M.K. Verma

13 Rye Circle

Midison WI 53711

Tel.: 608-833-1209

Prof Ashok Bhargava

4806 Waukesha Street

Madison Wisconsin 53705

Tel.: 262-474-4704

Mr Gopal K. Khanna

International Tech.

Consultants Inc

6605 Nordiac Dr.

Edina MN 55439

Tel.: (O) 612-921-2166, (R)

612-943-2662

Fax: 612-914-0717

Dr Rajiv Tandon

Presidnet

Learning Byte Intl. Inc

300 South Highway

169 Suite 350 Minneapolis

MN 55426-1119

Tel.: (O) 612-546-5808, (R)

612-545-3146

Fax: 612-546-6698

E-mail: rtandon@iat-mn.com

Charities Aid Foundation India, (CAF India) is a registered public Charitable Trust within the family of CAF worldwide which has its headquarters in the United Kingdom. CAF has a unique mission of increasing the quantum and substance of charity in U.K. and other countries. In India, it raises substantial resources from the corporate sector primarily in New Delhi and Bangalore, through Give As You Earn (G A Y E) and Corporate Trust Accounts. Most importantly, CAF India ensures that ninty percent of the funds given by donors reach the recipients, a no mean feat.

CAF India has also worked tirelessly to raise the standards of accountability in voluntary organizations. This includes the validation of NGO's to make it easier for companies and other donors to donate with a free mind, either through their foundations or directly. In fact, CAF India along with the Planning Commission, Government of India has validated 1500 NGO's and CAF India standards are becoming the benchmarks of good practice in Indian NGO's. CAF India also organizes training workshops for NGO's to help teach them to raise resources locally and adopt better financial management practices.

CAF India together with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) has also launched a Primary Education Fund, which enables companies to participate in improving the educational levels of the country, specifically municipal school improvement and teachers training. A pilot programme in Lucknow has improved 11 schools and created spin-offs to improve another 55 schools in the city. What is commendable is that 100 % of the funds contributed by the companies affiliated to the CII reach the schools. This is possible because of tremendous amount of backroom support provided by CAF worldwide which meets all administrative costs. Tax exemptions have also been provided to all the donations made by these companies.

A lot of work has also been done on the field of indigenous philanthropy in the country and the role of the various religious organizations. A formidable body of research and data has been collected so far and published as "Dimension of the Voluntary Sector in India 2000". Both as book and CD. It is also available on the website.

For more information about CAF India, please visit www.cafindia.org

